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Addresses and Speeches

FELICITATIONS TO PRIME MINISTER SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI

(*At a meeting of the Members of Parliament held under the Chairmanship of Shri G.S. Pathak, Vice-President of India in the Central Hall, Parliament House, New Delhi on Saturday, the 18th December,* 1971, *felicitations were offered to Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi for successfully leading the country during Pakistan's aggression on India from December* 3 *to* 17, 1971. We give below excerpts of speeches* made on the occasion by Dr. *Dhillon, Speaker of Lok Sabha Shri G. S. Pathak, Vice-President of India, Shri Humayun Rashid Choudhury, Head of the Mission of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh and the reply of Shrimati Indira Gandhi*—EDITOR).

Dr. G. S. Dhillon, Speaker, Lok Sabha

I am presenting this address on behalf of all the parties and all the Members of both the Houses of Parliament.

On this unforgettable day in the history of our nation, and a day equally memorable in the international history of respect for human rights, we, the Members of Parliament assembled in this Central Hall, are indeed very happy in offering our heartiest felicitations to the Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi.

Throughout the course of history, India has stood for human freedom and held aloft the banner of human dignity and you, Madam Prime Minister, will remain a shining symbol of this tradition and heritage of our people.

We hail the birth of a new State and a great neighbour—Bangla Desh. This is a historic creation of the struggles and sacrifices of millions of people.

*Other Members who spoke on the occasion were Sarvashri Darbara Singh, Murarji Desai, Indrajit Gupta, Dasaratha Deb, K. Manoharan, Pitambar Das, Frank Anthony, P. K. Deo, Samar Guha, S. B. Giri, S. M. Muhammed Sheriff, Sardar Narinder Singh Brar, Sarvashri S. A. Shamim and Mallikarjun.

On this occasion, our minds naturally turn to the architect of this new State, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. We pay our tributes to the *Mukti Bahini* for their valour and sacrifices in the fight for freedom. We have the deepest affection for our armed forces and we are proud of their heroic deeds and their sacrifices in upholding the cause of freedom and human dignity.

Madam Prime Minister, your wise and courageous leadership and the great role that you have played in bringing about the liberation of 75 million people in Bangla Desh will be written in letters of gold. In the great hour of triumph, we the Members of Parliament, fell genuine ly happy and proud to be with you and we assure you of our full support and confidence.

Shri G. S. Pathak, Vice-President of India and Chairman of Rajya Sabha

I wish to add a few words to the brilliant speeches that have been made this evening in this hall on this historic occasion. The whole nation is rejoicing today and the sentiments of the nation have been expressed in this hall today. You have heard it stated that the victory represents many things, vindication of human rights, vindication of international law and justice, democracy, secularism and other things. Communalism and tyrannical domination of man over man is at an end in Bangla Desh. We have seen as has been stated, "the triumphs of ideas over the physical might of tyrannical man."

Bangla Desh has been recognised, and is now enjoying freedom and that is a matter of great rejoicing for us. I have watched, and I am sure, everyone of you have watched, with close interest, how the Prime Minister has been able to achieve these results.

At one time when we were seeing streams of refugees coming into our territory we were forced to put the question and indeed the whole world was putting the question : How is it possible for the Prime Minister to fulfil the pledge that they will have to go back to their country, that they shall not remain here and that conditions will be created in which these refugees will have to trek back to their own country from which they arrived?

The Prime Minister has got several qualities like decision making and skilful planning. The greastest quality which I have seen in her is the sense of timeliness of each step which formed part of the planning for this mission. Each step was taken at the appropriate time.

But each step was a part of that planning. Now, this is a very rare quality. She possesses coolness and balance of judgment, combined with an iron will and determination.

She represent high statesmanship which is recognised and which is being recognised in the whole world today. She has confidence in herself, but what is more, she has confidence in the nation.

The unity of the nation was never demonstrated more clearly in recent years than during these nine months. The prestige of the nation has been upheld. She has got the capacity for ceaseless effort and devotion to the cause which she espouses.

We are gathered today to congratulate her and I join my voice in offering congratulations to the Prime Minister of India. We have the satisfaction that we have also served humanity. People in our neighbourhood were suffering, had been suffering for more than two decades, and all that belongs to mankind was denied to them. We are happy that we have contributed to the removal of their suffering and we have served humanity in this manner.

She became for the time being the voice of the people of Bangla Desh also. This new State symbolises the determination of free people. This new State represents the triumph of the spirit of man.

I congratulate the Prime Minister, the Armed Forces, the *Mukti Bahini,* the entire nation on this most historic event here.

May I congratulate you, Mr. Choudhury? May I also congratulate our Babuji Jagjivan Ram, on the noble work which has been accomplished? The nation is grateful to the Prime Minister. We have great reason to congratulate the Soviet Union also.

May I, Madam Prime Minister, give you my best wishes for a long life in the service of the nation and for all happiness?

Shri Humayun Rashid Choudhury, Head of the Mission of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh in New Delhi

You have done the people of Gana Praja Tantri Bangla Desh a great honour by having invited me on this occasion when you are honouring one of history's greatest statesmen, the Prime Minister of India, the champion of democracy, the champion of liberty, Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

When on the 25th of March this year Yahya Khan let loose his savage brigands on the unarmed and unsuspecting people of Bangla Desh, when the Pakistan army killed a million citizens of Bangla Desh and drove 10 million citizens of Bangla Desh into your country, your great people, under the magnificent leadership of your Prime Minister, and in the true traditions of Indian culture and hospitality, gave support and sympathy, to the unfortunate people of Bangla Desh.

It was your support, your sympathy and your succour that enabled us to regroup ourselves and to fight back the military junta of Islamabad that had descended upon us. It was the support of the people of India that sustained us during the darkest and most agonising nine months that we had passed through.

Today with the combined effort, when on the invitation of the Government of Bangla Desh, the armed forces of India and the armed forces of the *Mukti Bahini* defeated that brutal army, Bangla Desh is free, the citizens of Bangla Desh are free, the people of Bangla Desh are free.

But it is a victory not only for Bangla Desh, it is a victory for India also, because it is a victory of justice over injustice, victory of democracy over despotism, victory of good over evil, victory of secularism over communalism.

The friendship between the people of Bangla Desh and the people of India is not a friendship of convenience. It is not a friendship of only comaraderie. This friendship has been sanctified in blood. No fleet on earth, nay no power on earth, can destroy this friendship.

Sharing common ideals of secularism, democracy and justice between man and man, the people of Bangla Desh and the people of India will march forward carrying the torch of hope not only for the people of the sub-continent but for the people of the world.

Madam Prime Minister, you are not only the leader of great people of India; you are a leader of the people of Bangla Desh also. Madam Prime Minister you are not only a leader of the sub-continent, but you are a leader of mankind as such, because you of all the democratic leaders of the world, have defended democracy in the way it should have been defended.

The people of Bangla Desh will never forget the contribution that the people of India have made to the achievement of the freedom of Bangla Desh.

Today, I do not want to take much more of your time except to say, thank you, and thank you on behalf of the people of Bangla Desh.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India:

This function would have been an acutely embarrassing one for me had I taken your words literally. But I cannot believe that we are here to felicitate an individual. We are gathered here today, the Members of many different parties, representing a very large part of the world's population, to salute the human spirit. We are here to salute the high ideals for which this country has stood and which have brought fourth the best in our people in all times of difficulties, the spirit of compassion which motivated Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to feel the deep concern for his people which was the beginning of this particular struggle for freedom, the spirit of high patriotism which drove all thoughts of danger and hardship from the minds of our brave fighting forces, the spirit of unity which ignored all the differences which existed between different political parties, the spirit of brotherhood which brought a new solidarity among all sections of our people—I think it is these qualities which we have gathered here to salute today. In this time of travail we could not have succeeded, had any one group been alone.

The Armed Forces have done a magnificent job, but we know that they needed the support of all sections of the people, and we know that that support, sympathy and solidarity was forthcoming also in a magnificent way.

I should like to take this opportunity to thank my colleagues because it was their work for all the past months and before that which has contributed, it was this team spirit which we found in the Government which has contributed to the strengthening of the nation and had prepared it to face this tremendous challenge.

All the world admires a deed well done and I think, with all modesty, we can say that we have done this action well. But let us not forget that the road ahead is still long and steep and the hurdles are many and we have many peaks to scale. Let us hope that we can do this in the same spirit in which we have faced this challenge, that we shall climb from peak to peak, raising our nation to new heights of achievements, of quality and excellence.

I also want to welcome—I should like to say a very special word of greetings to our guest—his Excellency the Representative of Bangla Desh. He and his people have exhibited the human spirit of which I spoke in no less a manner than we have seen in our country.

Our Armed Forces have fought but before that it was the men—some of them were old, but most of them were young—and boys of the *Mukti Bahini* who, with hardly any training, hardly any equipment, faced one of the most brutal regimes the world has ever known. It was this human spirit, the love of freedom, the desire to express themselves and fight oppression and exploitation, this was what gave them the strength which no weapon, alone, can ever give. So we salute them today. It is their spirit, and their endurance that sustained the struggle in Bangla Desh. We salute all those people.

May I on behalf of all of you ask Mr. Choudhuri to convey our very best wishes to the leaders of Bangla Desh and to the gallant and courageous people of Bangla Desh.

I fully share the views he has expressed about lasting friendship between our two countries.

We declared a cease-fire not because of anybody telling us to do so, but because we had said that our objectives were limited. We had said that we could not tolerate the annihilation of an entire people on our borders; we had said that we would support the cause of democracy, the cause of freedom and the cause of human rights. And when that battle was ended, it was we who decided, and by we, I mean not only the Government but if the Opposition does not want to say all the parties let me say nearly all the parties, who decided to have a unilateral ceasefire on the Western border. And in future also whatever steps India takes, they will be because the people of India regard them to be the steps which are in their interest and in the interest of world peace. Let India, Bangla Desh and all those in the world who stand for freedom, who stand for the rights of man, let them all unite to free this world of all that oppresses mankind.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO PARLIAMENT

[*The President of India, Shri V. V. Giri, addressed the two Houses of Parliament assembled together on March* 13, 1972 *in the Central Hall of Parliament House and outlined the policies of the Government of India on various issues and the legislative programme for the session. Reproduced below is the text of the President's Address*—EDITOR].

HON'BLE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT,

The nation has come through a great test. It has shown unity and courage, compassion and clarity of vision in the face of the external threat. The world now has a clearer idea of the quality of our people. The life and liberty of 75 million people were at stake in Bangladesh. While the world wavered, India gave refuge to ten million fugitives from tyranny, and when attacked, met aggression stoutly, defended her own freedom and went to the aid of Bangladesh in defence of human freedom.

Exemplary Conduct of Armed Forces

Our armed forces fought with valour, ability and a sense of purpose. The co-ordination among the three services and other para-military forces was exemplary, as was the spirit of comradeship between officers and jawans. Many jawans and officers made the supreme sacrifice. Many more will bear for life the marks of their patriotism. As Supreme Commander of the Defence Forces I salute them and offer the nation's sympathy to their families. I acclaim the spirit of the people of our border areas who showed calmness and fortitude in the face of danger and the disruption of their normal lives. We are aware of our responsibility for the welfare and rehabilitation of those who have been displaced from their homes due to aggression. Civilians elsewhere also remained united and rose to the occasion.

Generation of Confidence and Pride

The guidance of Parliament, the judgement and leadership displayed by the Government in its political, diplomatic and military policies and decisions, the effective functioning of the administrative machinery at

all levels and the morale and determination of the people as a whole have contributed to our success. This has given the country a justifiable sense of confidence and pride.

When I addressed you last year, I called upon you to give undivided attention to economic and social transformation. We could not have foreseen that a war would be forced upon us. But every great challenge met, every risk taken for a high cause, every task well done, generates new capacity and strength. Our unity, strength and resolve have grown during the year.

Programmes of Social Justice

We should use these now to enlarge our programmes of social justice and equality, to forge ahead in our quest for self-reliance, and to pursue even more actively our basic policy of response to friendship, resistance to pressure and dedication to national interest and world peace.

Self-reliance and Realignment of Priorities

In the last twelve months, self-reliance made gains in spite of widespread floods in the north and east and drought in the Deccan and the influx of Bangladesh refugees which caused all manners of stress and strain and brought in its wake staggering administrative and organisational problems. The defence effort to meet Pakistan's unprovoked aggression imposed further burdens on the economy. The peace on our borders is still uneasy and vigilance cannot be relaxed. With the liberation of Bangladesh we have to extend help to the new nation in its economic reconstruction. These factors have led to a re-aligning of our priorities in the short run as well as in the longer perspective.

Resilience of Economy

Our economy showed resilience in coping with the unexpected strains of the year. The tempo of growth and development was maintained. Production of foodgrains rose by more than 8 per cent, reaching a record level of 108 million tonnes in the agricultural year 1970-71. In the current year production is expected to be even higher. As a result the Government has stopped concessional imports of foodgrains. Exports are looking up. Special measures for the creation of additional employment in rural areas and for the urban unemployed have made some progress. It is proposed to intensify these measures. The interim report of the Committee on Employment has just been received and is being studied. The Planning Commission has been reconstituted and the plan as a whole re-appraised.

Land Reforms

The implementation of land reform measures has gained momentum. Assam, Bihar, Kerala and West Bengal have made headway in providing security of tenure and ensuring greater measure of equity in rentals. Assam, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal have enacted legislation lowering the previous ceilings on land holdings. A national policy providing for lower ceilings on agricultural holdings has been enunciated, based on the recommendations of the Central Land Reforms Committee. The State Governments have been advised to amend their laws suitably in the light of these recommendations.

Rural Credit

Programmes for providing water, electricity and credit to farmers have made headway. Credit from public and co-operative institutions is flowing into development of irrigation, particularly ground water resources. The Rural Electrification Corporation has sanctioned Rs. 106 crores, of which Rs. 43 crores have been advanced to backward areas on concessional terms.

Industrial Production

Slow progress in the industrial sector, however, has been causing concern. A number of remedial steps have been taken to promote better utilisation of capacity and to improve the pace of licensing of new units. Special attention has been given to the claims of new and medium entrepreneurs. The lending policies of financial institutions have been specially oriented in favour of backward areas. The output of the small-scale sector has been increased significantly through larger allocation of raw materials and liberal imports.

Scrutiny of Public Sector Investment

Government have provided for greater outlays in the public sector, since such outlays largely govern the pace of industrial activity in our economy. Task Forces have been set up in each Ministry to assess progress, indentify short-falls, and suggest changes to accelerate Plan Schemes. The Industries (Development and Regulations) Act has been amended to give additional powers to Government to take over closed industrial units. A Plan Investment Board will soon be set up to provide a forum for the scrutiny of major public sector investment proposals through joint discussions.

Revival of Industrial Activity in West Bengal

My Government have been particularly anxious to revive industrial activity in West Bengal. Progress has been made in implementing a sixteen-point programme drawn up for this purpose.

Maintenance of Industrial Peace

In the wake of the recent emergency, I gave a call for a moratorium on strikes and lock-outs to ensure that industrial unrest does not slow down industrial progress. The Prime Minister has also initiated a dialogue with the leaders of the trade union movement. I have no doubt that workers will fully contribute to the maintenance of industrial peace. They may rest assured that Government will ensure that the gains of increased productivity are equitably shared.

Arthik Swaraj

The tendency on the part of aid giving countries to use their credits as a lever to influence our policies adds urgency to our attainment of self-reliance. It is imperative that we should fill agricultural gaps, achieve full utilisation of installed capacity, avoid strikes and lock-outs and achieve increased productivity all round. Increased production of steel and fertilisers in the industrial sector and of commercial crops such as cotton and oilseeds in the agricultural sector and enhancement of our own technological competence hold the key to *Arthik Swaraj*. We should give the highest priority to efficiency in production and cost competitiveness. Export promotion and import substitution should be pursued with grim determination.

New Steel and Fertilizer Projects

Preliminary work is in progress on the new steel plants at Salem, Vishakhapatnam and Vijaynagar. Government have taken a decision to set up a holding company for steel and associated industries like coking coal, iron, manganese, etc., to achieve economics of vertical integration and ensure coordinated growth at minimum cost. Efforts to attain self-sufficiency in fertilisers are continuing. Two new fertiliser plants have gone into production, two more are nearing completion. Construction has begun on three plants, two of them coal-based. Work on a third coal-based plant is expected to start shortly. Six new projects have been approved — three of them in the public sector.

New Techniques and Indigenous Research

The Intensive Cotton District Programme has made progress in thirteen districts. In addition, a special programme to spread a new

high yielding variety of cotton — hybrid 4—has also been taken up. A beginning has been made to introduce non-traditional oilseeds such as soyabean and sunflower. Under a centrally-sponsored scheme, soyabean cultivation will be extended over 4 lakh hectares by 1973-74. Trial and selection of suitable sunflower varieties has also been taken up.

The newly constituted National Committee on Science and Technology has initiated a number of studies on the contribution which indigenous research and development effort can make to self-reliance in different areas of our economy.

Mobilisation of Additional Domestic Resources

Simultaneously, with reduced reliance on external assistance, *Arthik Swaraj* requires greater mobilisation of domestic resources and stricter financial discipline all round. Steps are being taken in consultation with State Governments to bring about reduction in their overdrafts by the close of the current financial year. Measures need to be devised to tap for national development part of the additional incomes which are accruing to the affluent sections of the farming community. Government have appointed an Expert Committee to examine the problem.

Price Situation

It is a matter for some satisfaction that despite the enormous increase in the Government's commitments on account of refugee relief and hostilities with Pakistan, the price situation did not get out of control. However, Government are not complacent, and will maintain a close watch over prices and distribution of essential commodities. The public distribution system will be strengthened and credit policy kept under constant review.

Social Welfare Schemes

The Mid-Term Appraisal of the Plan has shown that social welfare schemes tend to be given low priority in the course of implementation. This is being rectified.

A scheme has been approved to provide Central assistance for house sites for landless rural workers. This will supplement the measures taken by State Governments to protect tenants facing eviction by landlords. Government have also approved a scheme for the improvement of urban slums. The urban reconstruction and renewal programme for the Calcutta Metropolitan area continued with full vigour. In the current year over Rs. 40 crores are expected to be spent on water

supply, transportation, housing and other developmental activities in this area.

Ceiling on Urban Property

Eight States have so far favoured Central legislation on ceilings on urban property. They have been requested to get resolutions passed in their legislatures under article 252 of the Constitution. In the meantime, as recommended by the Housing Ministers' Conference, a study group is examining certain aspects of implementation.

Reforms in the Social Structures

In spite of the preoccupation with defence and the problem of refugees, Government proceeded with major reforms in the social structure. One of the notable events of the year was the abolition of princely privileges and purses. Parliament gave its approval to amendments to the Constitution to enable other steps towards the ushering in of a society of equals.

Birth of New States

The Government gave effect to the reorganisation of the north-eastern region. The new States of Manipur, Meghalaya and Tripura and the Union Territories of Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh have come into existence. The nation's good wishes go to the people of these areas. The North-Eastern Council will be established soon. I hope that the States and the Union Territories of the North-East will make rapid progress through close co-ordination of their development efforts.

Elections to State Assemblies

Elections have just taken place in sixteen States and two Union Territories. The peaceful manner in which they were held has again demonstrated the maturity of our people and their enduring faith in parliamentary democracy. The new Governments which will take office in different States in accordance with the choice made by our people will receive the whole-hearted support of my Government in our common task of eliminating poverty and achieving social justice.

Emergence of Bangla Desh

The emergence of Bangladesh under the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is a landmark in the history of our sub-continent, indeed in man's search for freedom. We share the happiness of the people of Bangladesh in their triumph. We are gratified that our armed

forces have been able to return from Bangladesh so speedily. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his colleagues have had a series of discussions with our governmental leaders on matters of mutual interest. Our Prime Minister is visiting Dacca for further discussions, and to convey the greetings of the people of India to the heroic people of Bangladesh. My Government are giving Bangladesh the fullest possible co-operation in the enormous task of rehabilitating its uprooted people and the reconstruction of its economy. We look forward to uninterrupted growth of co-operation in all fields between our two countries. The similarity in our ideals and outlook holds a good augury for the growth of such relations. A strong, peaceful and friendly Bangladesh will add to the strength and stability of the sub-continent as well as of Asia. We are confident that the new nation will be enabled to make an effective contribution to the community of nations.

Talks with Pakistan

We extend a hand of friendship also to the people and Government of Pakistan. We have taken the initiative in proposing direct talks between our two countries without any pre-conditions. We hope that Pakistan will accept the changed situation on the sub-continent and respond to our initiative in a spirit of goodwill. India has no territorial designs on Pakistan or any other country. Our unilateral and voluntary declaration of a cease-fire on the Western sector, once the Pakistan forces surrendered in Bangladesh, confirmed this, if indeed confirmation were necessary.

Challenges to Foreign Policy

Our foreign policy encountered, and successfully overcame, complex challenges in the past year. The correctness of our analysis of the forces at work on the sub-continent, and the restraint we showed in dealing with them, have been widely recognised. There has been a strengthening of our relations with most of our neighbours.

Indo-Soviet Treaty

The signing of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation in August last year set the seal on a friendship that has been tested by time. It is a treaty of peace against war. It is not aimed against any country.

China's Entry into U.N.

We welcome the entry, though belated, of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations, a step which we had been consistently advocating. We hope that this will promote peace and stability in Asia and the world.

U.S. Attitude towards Freedom Struggle in Bangla Desh

There was great disappointment in our country at the lack of sympathy displayed by the Government of the United States of America towards the struggle of the people of Bangladesh for their democratic rights and fundamental freedom. Public opinion in the United States of America has expressed this sympathy in abundant measure and has been critical of the policies of the erstwhile military regime of Pakistan. This gives us hope that our relations with the United States of America, based on mutual respect and understanding, will not be allowed to deteriorate.

U.S. China Pareys

One of the important international developments of the year was the move of the United States of America and China to rearrange their relations. We hope that this will lead to a true relaxation of tensions and not to a sharpening of divisions.

Doctrine of Balance of Power Outdated

The configuration of world forces is changing rapidly. Relations between super powers and between them and other powers, are also undergoing a change. However, there are certain basic points which have to be borne in mind by all States, big and small. There should not be any attempt to carve out spheres of influence by the application of the doctrine of balance of power in this region or to dictate to countries, big or small, regarding their relationships with other countries. India does not seek leadership or domination. Nor will it tolerate domination by any country. We want this sub-continent and indeed the entire South Asian region and the Indian Ocean area to be free from power rivalries or domination and to develop into an area of peace and co-operation rather than one of confrontation. India would also like to encourage and foster greater regional co-operation, particularly in the fields of technology, trade and transit, science and culture, first and foremost between the countries of the sub-continent and then with other countries of South Asia, South East Asia and West Asia.

Detente in Europe

My Government welcome the Four-Power Berlin Accord and hope that the process of *detente* in Europe will continue, leading to stable agreements among the countries concerned.

New Nations

The emergence of Bahrain, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates as free nations is a welcome development.

Conflicts in West Asia and Vietnam

My Government deeply regret that the conflicts in West Asia and Vietnam are continuing. My Government hope that the attempts to arrive at a peaceful settlement in both these areas will bear early fruit. The intensified bombing in Vietnam is not consistent with the desire for peaceful negotiations.

Relations with Neighbouring Countries

With the steady implementation of the Indo-Ceylon Agreement on Citizenship and increased economic co-operation, our relations with Ceylon have been strengthened. The successful conclusion of a new Trade and Transit Treaty with Nepal has removed a source of misunderstanding between the two countries and paved the way towards an era of co-operation to our mutual benefit.

The sudden demise of His Majesty King Mahendra of Nepal has been a matter of deep sorrow to us. We extend our good wishes and co-operation to the new King, and the Government and the people of Nepal. We should like to assure them of our continuing friendship and co-operation for strengthening peace, progress and stability in this region.

We have close relations with Bhutan and it was a matter of deep satisfaction that Bhutan was admitted as a member of the United Nations in September 1971. Our co-operation with Bhutan has been in keeping with our earlier assurances and is bound to grow in the interests of both countries and peoples.

Legislative Programme

A survey of our internal and external affairs must inevitably include a reference to the legislative and other business which will come up before you.

The estimates of receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the next financial year 1972-73 will be presented to you for consideration shortly.

Government will bring before Parliament Bills for replacing the Contingency Fund of India (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972, the Administrators-General (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972, the Public Wakfs (Extension of Limitation) (Delhi Amendment) Ordinance, 1972 and the Indian Copper Corporation (Taking over of Management) Ordinance, 1972. Government also intend to bring before Parliament the following legislative measures:

(1) The Antiquities and Art Treasures Bill, 1972.

(2) A Bill to establish Hill Areas University in North Eastern Region.

(3) The Untouchability (Offences) Amendment Bill, 1972.

(4) Bill to provide for deterrent punishments for certain types of economic offences involving contravention of laws regarding Customs, Central Excise, Gold Control, Income Tax and Wealth Tax.

(5) A comprehensive Bill to provide for amendments of Foreign Exchange Regulation Act.

(6) Bill to nationalise General Insurance Companies.

(7) Bill for the nationalisation of the Coking Coal Mines whose management was taken over by the Government.

(8) The Air Pollution Control Bill.

(9) The Disturbed Areas (Special Courts) Bill.

War Against poverty

Honourable Members, in conclusion, may I remind you that the war against poverty is no less heroic than military action? This larger struggle demands hard work and unwavering adherence to the goal. Nothing great has ever been achieved without consistent endeavour and sacrifice. I call upon all sections and all parties in our great country to display the same spirit of unity in construction that they showed in combat. Let the nation heed the summons to greatness—a greatness not of conventional power but of the spirit.

PARLIAMENT AND GOVERNMENT'S PRICE POLICY FOR SUGARCANE AND SUGAR*

An integrated price policy for the sugar economy has a three-fold objetcive: that of ensuring adequate cane supplies to the factories, in years especially of short crops; of protecting the sugarcane grower (in respect of the price and the disposal of his crop), in years especially of bumper crops; and of ensuring a steady flow of sugar supplies to the consumer at relatively stable prices through years of large as well as short crops.

Various approaches have been tried by the Government from time to time in the process of evolving a suitable policy which would satisfy the interests of the canegrower, the sugar manufacturer and the consumer—the three vertices of the sugar triangle. These approaches have mainly hinged round the fixation of a statutory minimum price for sugarcane throughout the country and control over the production, distribution and price of sugar.

At the beginning of Fourth Lok Sabha, the sugar industry was passing through a phase of control over the price and distribution of sugar. In regard to sugarcane, a system of minimum price fixation related to the recovery of sugar from sugarcane was in operation. This system was designed to guarantee a specific minimum price upto a certain level of recovery and provided for a premium on each 0.1 increase in recovery percentage above this level. The sugarcane price, announced in March, 1967 was fixed at Rs. 5.68 per quintal, linked to a recovery of 9.4 per cent with provision for an increase at 4 paise per quintal for every 0.1 per cent increase in recovery.

Parliamentary criticism of the Government's price policy in regard to sugarcane and sugar has been directed mainly towards the need to offer a higher price to the farmer for sugarcane as an incentive to grow more. It is in this sphere that Parliament has been most effective in

*Prepared by the Library, Reference and Information Service of the Lok Sabha Secretariat.

orienting Government's price policy gradually in favour of higher sugarcane production on a sustained basis.

On April 3, 1967, the question of fixation of sugarcane prices for 1966-67 was raised in Lok Sabha through a call-attention motion by Shri Yashpal Singh. The Member said that the Government had not paid a price of more than Rs. 7 per quintal for sugarcane whereas the private crushers were paying as much as Rs. 11 to 12 per quintal. As a result, he said, the cane-growers were not selling cane to the sugar factories, many of which had closed down for want of cane. He demanded an increase in the sugarcane price and said that the factory owners should not be favoured at the cost of the canegrowers.

Agreeing with the need to pay a higher price to the sugarcane grower, the then Minister of Food and Agriculture, Shri Jagjivan Ram, said:

> "I may assure the House that the entire question of increasing the price of sugarcane will have to be reviewed and it will be done very soon."[1]

On August 2, 1967, the question of scarcity of sugarcane came up for discussion in Lok Sabha through an half-an-hour discussion, raised by Shri Prakash Vir Shastri. Initiating the discussion, Shri Shastri said that because of the wrong price policy pursued by the Government, the total acreage under sugarcane had gone down considerably, and, if this policy was not corrected, the sugar production in the country would be gravely affected.

Replying to the discussion, the then Minister of State in the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation, Shri Annasahib Shinde, said:

> "...all along our approach has been to see that the sugarcane growers are paid a remunerative price and I am quite sure that whatever the decision of the Government may be in detail, we shall see that a remunerative price is announced."[2]

The Sugar Policy for the season 1967-68 was announced in both the Houses of Parliament on August 16, 1967 by the then Minister of

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[1]L.S. Deb. August 2, 1967, cc. 16644—64.

[2]*Ibid.*

Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation, Shri Jagjivan Ram. Outlining the policy, the Minister said:

> "Government has given very careful consideration to the various suggestions made by the Hon. Members, the views of the State Governments, the industry, the cane-growers and others . . . At one end, it was suggested that the existing controls may be continued with suitable measures added to help improve the competitive position of the sugar industry so that it could offer higher prices for sugarcane. At the other extreme was the suggestion for complete decontrol . . .
>
> "The Government . . . decided to adopt a method under which some quantity of sugar will be available for domestic consumption at a controlled price, leaving a portion of the production for sale freely in the market. . . . The scheme which the Government has decided to put into effect comprises the following measures:
>
> The minimum price of sugarcane will be Rs. 2.75 per maund (Rs. 7.37 per quintal) for a recovery of 9.4 per cent or less with 2 paise per maund (5.36 paise per quintal) for every increase of 0.1 in recovery above 9.4 per cent;. .
>
> A quantity equal to 60 per cent of the production achieved from the 1st of October, 1966 to 30th of September, 1967 will be procured from the sugar factories from their production from the 1st of October, 1967 to the 30th September, 1968 at a fixed levy price. Factories will be free to sell the balance production anywhere in India at the free market price subject to release from factories sanctioned by the Government of India. . . .
>
> "The measures which have been outlined above will enable the Industry to offer a higher price for sugarcane than the minimum proposed above which will benefit the cultivator. . . . . The scheme may not provide the ideal solution but there is every hope that it will arrest the adverse trend of diversion of the land from sugarcane to other crops by ensuring for the producer a remunerative price and save the industry from a confusing crisis in the coming years. . . . . The consumer is bound to benefit from fuller utilisation of capacity and rising production. . . . ."

On September 28, 1968 the Government announced the continuation of the existing policy of partial decontrol on sugar for the season 1968-69 commencing from the 1st October, 1968. However, the quantity of levy sugar was increased from 60 per cent to 70 per cent, the balance 30 per cent being allowed to be sold in the free market. The minimum price of sugarcane for the same season was fixed at Rs. 7.37 per quintal for a recovery of 9.4 per cent or less, with 5·36 paise per quintal for every increase of 0.1 per cent for recovery above 9.4 per cent.

On November 26, 1968, the question of unattractive prices of sugarcane fixed by the Government, resulting in the closure of a large number of sugar mills, was again raised in Lok Sabha through a call-attention motion.[3] The mover of the Motion, Shri S. S. Kothari, said that the Government had failed to evolve an integrated sugar price structure which hindered the allocation of cane on a rational basis.

Replying to the above charge, the then Minister of Food and Agriculture, Shri Jagjivan Ram, said that the Government had fixed only the minimum price of sugarcane payable by sugar factories, but the actual sugarcane price was dependent on the prices paid by producers of 'gur' and 'khandsari'. The Minister said that manoeuvrability had been provided to factories to offer remunerative prices to cultivators, but any compulsory upward revision of the cane price would lead to control on the sugar price which was not desirable.

The question of the price of sugarcane came under renewed attack in Lok Sabha on December 5 and 9, 1968 through a motion moved by Shri Kashi Nath Pandey, Shri Pandey said that no cultivator was willing to supply cane to the sugar factories at the low price of Rs. 7.37 per quintal fixed by the Government. He demanded a cane price of at least Rs. 10 per quintal.

Replying to the discussion on December 9, 1968 the then Minister of Food and Agriculture, Shri Jagjivan Ram, said:

> "I agree with the Members who have made the suggestion that no where should the cane price be less than Rs. 10 per quintal..... I can assure the House that I will take up this matter with the sugar factories, and I am sure that if

[3]The question of cane prices was also raised in Rajya Sabha on November 26, 1968.

they want that the sugar industry should exist, they will not hesitate to pay such a price as will not inhibit sugarcane cultivation.....'"[4]

For the crushing season 1969-70 the Government decided that no change would be made in the minimum price of sugarcane.

On December 15, 1969, two short-duration discussions (under Rule 193) on the "Sugar Policy" and the "Fall in the prices of Sugarcane and gur, resulting in losses to sugarcane growers" were raised in Lok Sabha by Shri Kashi Nath Pandey and Shri N. P. C. Naidu respectively. The central theme of the two discussions was that the Government's policy of partial decontrol had failed so far as the cane grower was concerned. It was pointed out that inspite of the Government's assurance that it would try to secure from the sugar mills a price of at least Rs. 10 per quintal for sugarcane, the farmers had received much less than even the statutory minimum price in many cases. Members demanded that the statutory minimum price should be fixed at Rs. 10 per quintal and a study should be undertaken of the cost of cultivation of sugarcane. Demands were also made for the appointment of a high level committee to review the entire sugar policy, with the ultimate objective of nationalising the sugar industry.

Replying to the discussion, the then Minister of Food And Agriculture, Shri Jagjivan Ram, said:

"....when I introduced the policy of partial decontrol, I am convinced that I did a good thing and there is no doubt that in 1967, cane growers made profits, earned as much as they had never done in the history of the sugar industry.....that is due to that policy."

He added:

"It is an opportune time to appoint a Committee to study the working of the sugar industry in the context of the demand for nationalisation of sugar undertakings in certain areas....I hope to set up this Committee very quickly to go into the entire question of the sugar industry and make recommendations."

Replying to the demand for payment of higher sugarcane prices, Shri Jagjivan Ram said:

"The price of Rs. 7.37 per quintal was fixed as a national

[4]L.S. Deb., December 5, 1968, cc. 312—48 and December 9, 1968, cc. 343—86.

price....in order to calculate the price of levy sugar. The expectation was that the factories will pay a higher price than the minimum price. In 1967 we did it. In 1968, by and large, many factories paid Rs. 10 though there were some recalcitrant factories which paid less.

"I need not assure the House that ever since I took charge of this Ministry, It has been my effort to secure a good price to the Indian farmer. I can say with some sense of satisfaction that, by and large, I have succeeded in that."

On September 27, 1970, the Government announced the appointment of a Commission to review the working of the sugar industry in the country in depth, particularly in the context of the demand for its nationalisation. The Commission was entrusted with the task of looking into the problems of sick mills and to suggest ways and means by which their problems could be solved. The Commission was also asked to prepare a master plan for the sugar industry and allied industries for the next 10 to 15 years.

On November 12, 1970, the Government announced the continuation of the minimum price of sugarcane for 1970-71 at Rs. 7.37 a quintal linked to a recovery of 9.4 per cent or below. However, the premium for recoveries higher than 9.4 per cent was increased from 5.36 paise to 6.6 paise per quintal for every increase of 0.1 per cent in recovery.

On December 16, 1970, a discussion was again raised in Lok Sabha on the "Sugar position obtaining in the Country including the cane price."

Initiating the discussion, Shri Kashi Nath Pandey said that the price of Rs. 7.37 per quintal for sugarcane, fixed by the Government was not adequate. He said that the Government should find a solution by which the farmer may get incentive to produce more sugar-cane and the mills may also get a continuous supply.

Rejecting the demand for a higher minimum price for sugarcane on the ground that the canegrowers had actually got Rs. 15 to 20 per quintal as against the statutory minimum of Rs. 7.37 in the previous years, the Minister of Food and Agriculture, Shri F.A. Ahmed, said:

"We have fixed the cane price at Rs. 7.37 linked to a recovery of 9.4 as was done last year. But so far as the premium

> is concerned, we have increased it as compared to what was fixed last year.... In the present circumstances, we thought that was the maximum we could do so far as the fixation of price is concerned[5]."

On December 28, 1970, the Government issued orders modifying the existing sugar policy by allowing 40 per cent of the sugar production for free sale as against the existing 30 per cent., and the balance for sale at controlled price through fair price shops.

On May 25, 1971, the Government decided to lift the control on the price, movement and distribution of sugar completely. Announcing the decision in Lok Sabha, the Minister of Food and Agriculture, Shri F.A. Ahmed, said:

> "Government have reviewed the entire sugar policy in the light of the changed circumstances. It is considered that, in view of the easy supply and stock position of sugar, control over prices of sugar, distribution of sugar to consumers at fixed quotas on the strength of cards and other procedural handicaps have little place in the present situation. Government have, therefore, decided to remove all controls on prices, distribution and movement of sugar with immediate effect.... Further, in order to protect the interests of the sugar-cane growers, control over minimum prices of sugar-cane to be paid to the growers will continue and minimum prices will be fixed for each crop season, as in the past[6]."

On August 11, 1971, the demand was made in Lok Sabha during the course of a short-duration discussion on 'Sugar Policy', initiated by Shri Bibhuti Mishra, for evolving an integrated sugar production and marketing policy in consultation with cane-growers and the sugar industry in order to save the country's 'second largest industry'. Members again criticised the unremunerative prices of sugarcane fixed by the Government which, they, said, had forced the growers to switch over to other crops. Many Members in the House demanded that the cane price should be fixed at atleast Rs. 10 per quintal. The old demands for basing the price on the cost of cultivation and nationalisation of the sugar industry were again revived.

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[5]L.S. Deb., December 16, 1970, cc. 355—82.

[6]L.S. Deb., May 25, 1971, cc. 175—220.

Replying to the discussion, the Minister of State for Agriculture, Prof. Sher Singh, said that the Government would take stringent action against millowners who were not paying what was due to the cane growers. Referring to the demand for a rise in the price of sugarcane, the Minister said that it had been the Government's policy to ensure a remunerative price to the farmers.[7]

Consequent on the removal of control on the price, movement and distribution of sugar with effect from May 25, 1971, sugar prices in the open market received a fresh spurt and started rising. With a view to arresting the rising prices, Government took fresh measures which, in effect, amounted to reimposition of partial decontrol, without giving it a legal basis. Announcing the new measures in Lok Sabha on December 13, 1971, the Minister of Agriculture Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, said:—

> "I am happy to announce that the sugar industry has been quick to appreciate the seriousness of the situation and the need to pay higher sugarcane price to the growers than the minimum fixed by Government. It has also agreed to make 60 per cent of the monthly releases available to the Government for meeting emergent requirements and for distribution through fair price shops to domestic consumers at a fixed ex-factory price of Rs. 150 per quintal exclusive of excise duty. The Government have agreed to this price taking into account the overall interests of the cane-growers, the industry and the consumer.....If this measure does not bring about desired result the Government would not hesitate to take such stringent steps as the situation may call for."[8]

On December 23, 1971, a short-duration discussion (under Rule 193) on the 'Sugar Policy', was raised in Lok Sabha by Shri Narsingh Narain Pandey. Initiating the discussion Shri Pandey said that the policy of half-hearted control on sugar, announced by the Government on December 13, 1971, had enabled the sugar factory owners to earn huge profits without, at the same time, benefiting either the cane-grower or the consumer. He said that the cane-grower was not in a position to bargain with the factory-owners for a higher price for sugar-cane; as a matter of fact, in some of the States, he was being forced under the law to place his entire cane crop at the disposal of

[7]L.S. Deb., August 11, 1971, cc. 184—237.

[8]L.S. Deb., December 13, 1971, cc. 9868—69.

the mills. On the other hand, he said, the consumer had to pay a much higher price for sugar in the open market and the new policy had failed to stabilise the sugar prices. He charged the Government with protecting the interest of the factory-owners.

Another Member, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, said that the Government should compel the factory-owners to increase the sugarcane price, which should not be less than Rs. 10 per quintal, and to make sugar available to consumers at reasonable prices.

Replying to the discussion, the Minister of Agriculture, Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, said:—

> "The Government fixed the minimum price of sugar cane at Rs. 7.37 for a recovery of 9.4 per cent. Here, in fixing the price, I just want to bring to the notice of the House that this was a national price. Below this price they should not sell the sugarcane but there was nothing to prevent the sugarcane growers to get a higher price than the minimum price that has been fixed by the Government... ....But, when we found that the price of sugar was increasing and the sugar-cane growers were also not getting the higher price than that fixed by the Government, I sent for all the industrialists and the co-operative owners and had a discussion with them and after discussion, it was agreed that the minimum price given by them except in a few States will be Rs. 8.50 and in some places like the Western U.P. it will be Rs. 9. In Maharashtra it will be about Rs. 11.
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> "In the Punjab it will be Rs. 9 per quintal. It is true that so far as Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Mysore and one or two other areas like Orissa are concerned, no agreement has yet been arrived at. But it is our effort that there also the minimum price paid to the sugar-cane growers would not be less than Rs. 8.50. That has been accepted by them and that is the advice given by us and accepted both by the industry as also by the co-operatives and I hope that the cane-growers will now get more price than what has been statutorily fixed by the Government."

IMPACT OF FINANCIAL COMMITTEES' RECOMMENDATIONS ON ADMINISTRATION*

[*A series of articles highlighting the impact of recommendations of the Financial Committees of Parliament on the Administration was started with the April, 1970 issue of the Journal. Continuing the series, we publish in this issue an article on the "National Malaria Eradication Programme" based on the reports of the Public Accounts Committee*—Editor.]

National Malaria Eradication Programme

The Public Accounts Committee (1969-70) in their 101st Report on paragraph 107 of Audit Report (Civil), 1969 examined the National Malaria Eradication Programme (Ministry of Health, Family Planning, Works, Housing and Urban Development—Department of Health).

The National Malaria Eradication Programme was started in 1958 with the object of eradicating malaria from the entire country. (Prior to this, a Malaria Control Programme was in operation for five years from 1953-54 to 1957-58). The Programme is executed by the State Governments, but insecticides, drugs and transport are provided by the Government of India. Sixty per cent of the operational cost is also given to the State Governments as Central grants. The total expenditure incurred by the Government of India on the Programme during 1958-59 to 1967-68 was Rs. 154.64 crores.

According to the original time schedule, the Programme was to be completed by 1967-68. However, this could not be done because of—(i) the more rigid criteria laid down by the World Health Organisation for entry of a unit from one phase to another; (ii) certain serious set-backs such as delay in putting surveillance machinery on ground in some States and focal outbreak of malaria from 1964 onwards, mainly in Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, leading to progressive increase in the

*Prepared by the Library, Reference and Information Service of the Lok Sabha Secretariat.

annual parasite incidence. According to the National Malaria Eradication Programme Directorate, these setbacks of the Programme were mainly due to failure to provide or utilise basic health services properly in the maintenance phase; insufficent supply or late arrival of D.D.T. in the operational areas; inadequate transport facilities; insufficiency of laboratory services; inadequacy and low morale of the staff employed under the Programme; resistance of D.D.T. in vector mosquitoes etc. As a result of these factors, 71.38 operational units were reverted in 1968-69 from the consolidation and maintenance phases to the attack phase, which resulted in increasing the number of units in the attack phase to 112.98 against 103.01 units in 1964, thereby sliding back the Programme substantially. The Programme was rephased in 1968 so as to be completed by 1975. The outlay for completion of the Scheme during the Fourth Plan period had in consequence increased from Rs. 19.21 crores estimated in 1966 to 91.74 crores.[1]

The Committee expressed the opinion that a number of deficiencies in the Programme had contributed to the setback. The principal contributory factors were—

(i) Patchy and poor spraying, resulting in what a team of T.C.M. experts had in 1960, characterised as "less than complete coverage of many villages and less than complete treatment of sprayable surfaces."

(ii) Failure to develop on the required scale the surveillance or vigilance mechanism, which could have helped in the timely detection of persistence or recrudescence of malaria.

(iii) Failure to provide adequate diagnostic facilities and rural health services to cope with the deteriorating epidemological situation.[2]

The Committee observed that a number of agencies who had appraised the working of the Programme at various stages, including a team of TCM consultants in 1960, and Annual Appraisal Teams from 1965 onwards, had brought the deficiencies in the Programme to the notice of the Government. In spite of these repeated warnings, there

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[1]Public Accounts Committee, 101st Report (1969-70) para 1.21.

[2]*Ibid.*, para 1.22

was not enough appreciation, either on the part of the State Governments who were implementing the Scheme or on the part of the Government of India who acted as the co-ordinating agency, of the need for rectifying the deficiencies in the Programme and implementing it in a purposeful manner[3]

Since the outbreak had occurred in seven contiguous States in Central India, the Committee expressed the hope that the situation would be tackled by Government without great difficulty. However, the Committee emphasised that the following points should receive adequate attention by Government[4]:

(i) Improvement in the quality of spraying operations and intensification of field supervision at all levels.

(ii) Intensification, improved coverage and tighter supervision over surveillance operations in the Programme.

(iii) Parallel and correlated development of rural health services.

Pointing out that Government have made substantial investment in the Scheme (Rs. 154.64 crores) between 1958-59 to 1967-68 the Committee urged the Government to realise the stake in the successful implementation of the Programme. They observed that the future of Malaria Eradication Programme in India was dependent almost entirely on the ability of the individual spraymen and the individual workers who were expected to carry out their duties in an acceptable manner, and their superiors who were expected to provide the leadership and directions for the eradication.[5]

The Government in their reply[6] stated that the deficiencies in the Programme as enumerated by the Committee were being looked into with a view to taking remedial action. Efforts had been made for placing advance indents for imports from abroad of insecticides and proper supervision of the X-ray operation and health education measures ensured. As for improvement in the surveillance and vigilance machinery in the Fourth Plan, one worker for 10,000 population or

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[3] *Ibid.*, para 1.23.

[4] *Ibid.*, para 1.25.

[5] *Ibid.*, paras 1.87—1.90.

[6] Public Accounts Committee, 21st Report (1971-72), p. 6.

35 square miles of area had been recommended for approval for surveillance operations. Regarding vigilance operations, the basic health services had been made 100 per cent centrally sponsored for strengthening the peripheral staff by supplying additional workers at the rate of one worker for 10,000 population and one Inspector for four such workers.

As regards the deficiencies brought to notice by the T.C.M. the reply adds[7] that the Government of India were fully seized of the situation as recommended by the T.C.M. Expert and efforts were made to improve the work of the individuals in the field by constant visits by the staff from the State Malariologist's office, Regional offices and the National Malaria Eradication Programme Directorate. From 1962 onwards, annual independent appraisal of the Programme was undertaken by Government in various States and the recommendations of the Appraisal Teams were communicated to the States for implementation. However, in order to get further insight about the lacunae in the Programme, a Special Committee (Madhok Committee) was appointed in the year 1967-68 who reviewed the working of the Programme and recommended measures for its improvement.

The Government, have however, indicated[8] that the execution of the Programme rests with the States who are constantly advised by the Regional Co-ordinating Organisation and National Malaria Eradication Programme Directorate in order to enhance the tempo of activities so that the Programme could be completed by 1975-76 as scheduled. The Programme is also annually reviewed by the Central Council of Health and the States lagging behind are asked to gear up their activities.

Furthermore, the points indicated by the Public Accounts Committee to draw up the plan of action have been noted by the Government and the State Governments have been requested to do the needful in the matter.[9]

In their 21st Report (1971-72), the Public Accounts Committee suggested[10] that closer co-ordination should be maintained with State Governments who were the executive agencies and expressed the hope

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[9] *Ibid.*, P. 21.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

that the Programme would be completed by 1975-76 according to the revised schedule without any further set back. The Committee also emphasised the need for the preparation of budget estimates for the National Malaria Eradication Programme realistically in future so that there was no set back to the Programme for want of adequate funds.

Provision of Basic Health Services

The Committee expressed the opinion[11] that a definite plan for basic health services was crucial for the successful implementation of the Malaria Eradication Programme and hoped that it would be imaginatively planned and executed so as to provide a 'health infrastructure' on which the elementary service could be expanded in an orderly manner. The Committee drew attention to the guidelines laid down by the WHO Expert Committee according to which "the Scheme cannot be too elaborate but must be realistic and adapted to the economic possibilities of the country" and that the work should be executed on the basis of priorities.

The Government in their reply[12] stated that the preparations for entry into the Maintenance phase had been under the consideration of the Government of India since 1962. As a result of the recommendations made by two Special Committees, successively appointed in 1963 and 1966, the establishment of vigilance services under the general health services were required to cater not only to the needs of maintenance of freedom from malaria but also for other health care services according to a phased programme. Another special Committee recommended the minimum staff required at different levels within the district so as to provide an integated health service for catering to the needs of vigilance services for the maintenance phase of Malaria and Small-pox Eradication Programme. For the basic health services for maintenance phase of malaria which are to form an integrated part of health service during the Fourth Plan period, a provision of Rs. 43.98 crores has been made. In 2,424 Primary Health Centres, basic health workers were in position. During the year 1969-70, a sum of Rs. 172.53 lakhs was spent on the service and Rs. 400 lakhs provided for the year 1970-71.

[11]Public Accounts Committee, 191st Report (1969-70), para 1.36.

[12]Public Accounts Committee, 21st Report (1971-72), p. 23

Inadequate Laboratory Facilities

The Committee observed[13] that inadequate laboratory facilities in the country had cramped the provision of diagnostic services to the people living in malarious areas and drew attention to the large backlog of unexamined slides which had accumulated in the laboratories between 1961 and 1963. The Committee asked Government to ensure quick and correct examinations of blood smears, and stressed the need for a crash programme to recruit necessary personnel and train them without delay. The Committee also suggested that Government should initiate studies with the help of WHO on employment of practical serological methods for case detection in the laboratories in the interest of improving diagnostic techniques.

The Government in their reply[14] stated that augmentation of laboratory services under the National Malaria Eradication Programme was receiving the attention of the Government of India. The microscopists provided to the laboratories had been trained and refresher| training courses were being held in the States with the help of Regional Co-ordinating Organisation under the National Malaria Eradication Programme. With the proposed provision of microscopists on the basis of one microscopist for about 1.2 lakhs of population (on the basis of 50 slides per worker per day), the blood smears were expected to be examined promptly. Further, 10 per cent of the negative and 100 per cent of the positive blood smears examined in the laboratories were cross-checked in the State laboratories and in the laboratories of the Regional Co-ordinating Organisations and with this system of cross-checking, there would hardly be any chance of missing a positive blood smear. Various developments with regard to serological tests in the National Malaria Eradication Programme were being watched from the point of view of their introduction in the Programme when such methods could be made applicable in the field situation.

Defective Microscopes

The Committee noticed[15] that nearly three-fourths of the total stock of microscopes with the laboratories were giving poor performance due to oil immersion lenses getting hazy. All these microscopes had been obtained from a particular firm overseas with whom arrangements

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[13]Public Accounts Committee, 101st Report (1969-70), paras 1.37 to 1.39.

[14]Public Accounts Committee, 21st Report (1971-72), pp. 24-25.

[15]Public Accounts Committee, 101st Report (1969-70), para 1.40.

for their repairs were discussed by Government in July 1968. They expressed the hope that careful selection of instruments would be made in future keeping in view the past experience so that the microscopes might give trouble free and uninterrupted service.

The Government in their reply[16] stated that two firms in India undertook the work of repairs of microscopes and lenses satisfactorily. Moreover, 550 oil immersion lenses were obtained through WHO in the year 1968 and were distributed in various States. Further efforts were made to get more lenses on rupee payment basis through UNICEF. No demand for microscopes from the State Governments was pending with the National Malaria Eradication Programme and there was no proposal for the procurement of more microscopes under the National Malaria Eradication Programme.

Anti-Malaria Drugs

The Committee noted[17] that one of the factors that retarded spraying operations under the National Malaria Eradication Programme was the belated supply of insecticides attributed mainly to the 'late arrival of imports', 'difficulties in finalising deals with foreign firms' and 'difficulties about budget allocation and getting clearance from Finance to place orders in advance.' It took anything between 7 months to two years for the supply of insecticides to materialise after proposals for their purchase had been mooted. The Committee asked the Government to take adequate care in order to ensure that administrative bottlenecks did not interfere with the timely supply of insecticides to the operational areas.

The Government in their reply[18] stated that administrative bottlenecks were being removed and care would be taken for placing the indents in advance in future. A proposal for allowing 1000 tons of 75 per cent DDT as reserve stock during the year 1971-72 was engaging the attention of the Government.

In their 21st Report (1971-72), the Committee desired[19] that an early decision should be taken on the suggestions that the funds should be budgeted for the whole Programme, made available at the planned date and managed with necessary flexibility.

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[16]Public Accounts Committee, 21st Report (1971-72), p. 26.
[17]Public Accounts Committee, 101st Report (1969-70), paras 1.49 and 1.50.
[18]Public Accounts Committee, 21st Report (1971-72), p. 27.
[19]*Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

Programme for Indigenious Production of Insecticides and Drugs

The Committee pointed[20] out that Government had spent a sum of Rs. 1067 lakhs on the import of insecticides and anti-malarial drugs between 1964-65 and 1968-69. Over a period of five years ended 1972-73, one half of the requirements of the drugs would have to be imported. The Committee recommended that Government should explore the scope of increasing|establishing indigenous production of insecticides and anti-malarial drugs.

The Government stated in their reply[21] that further increase in the indigenous production of insecticides (DDT) was under consideration of the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals and Directorate General of Technical Development and there was a proposal to start a new plant in Bombay for producing 700 tons of DDT. As regards the plan for increasing indigenous production of anti-malarials, a meeting was held between the officers of the National Malaria Eradication Programme Directorate, Drugs Controller and Directorate General of Technical Development on January 13, 1970. The Directorate General, Supplies and Disposals indicated that 54 million chloroquine| amodiaquine tablets could only be made available through indigenous sources and for the balance of 66 million tablets, necessary foreign exchange had to be provided to the firms for importing ingredients.

In their 21st Report (1971-72)[22], the Committee desired that serious attention should be paid to step up production of both insecticides and anti-malarial drugs in order to attain self-sufficiency at an early date.

Health Hazards posed by DDT:

The Committee advised[23] that while drawing up a plan of action for expanding|establishing production insecticides and anti-malarial drugs, Government should bear in mind two important considerations, *viz.*, the hazard *posed by the use of DDT which had been banned in* some countries and the resistance of malaria parasites to certain drugs. They suggested that Government should initiate detailed studies in collaboration with the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research and collect data through field tests from different parts of the World.

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[20]Public Accounts Committee, 101st Report, (1969-70), para 1.51.

[21]Public Accounts Committee, 21st Report, (1971-72), pp. 10-11.

[22]*Ibid.*, p. 11.

[23]Public Accounts Committee. 101st Report, (1969-70), para 1.52.

The Government in their reply[24] stated that on the controversial question of banning the use of DDT, a Committee of Experts had come to the same conclusion as WHO that the use of DDT in developing countries for public health measures be continued till an equally effective and economical insecticide was available to replace DDT. As regards the research support to the National Malaria Eradication Programme on various aspects it was contemplated to investigate the following problems :

(i) Development of resistance in vector species in mosquitoes to the insecticides in use under the National Malaria Eradication Programme.

(ii) Development of resistance in parasites to the drugs in use under the National Malaria Eradication Programme.

(iii) Immunity Status in the Community.

Surveillance Machinery

With regard to the cost of the present surveillance machinery for detection of malaria cases, the Committee had asked[25] the Government to undertake research studies in order to simplify methods of detection of malaria cases and to bring down the cost.

The Government in their reply[26] stated that the cost of the surveillance machinery was an essential component of eradication and no other way had been found to substitute the method of detection in the developing countries. However, under the National Malaria Eradication Programme in India, the cost had been kept at the minimum level by allotting one House Visitor for 10,000 or more population. In fact, one worker should be given for not more than 5000 population and in certain areas even less. The W.H.O., in their research programmes, had already included such studies for evolving cheaper methods but with no success yet.

In their 21st Report (1971-72), the Committee expressed[27] the hope that as a result of the studies undertaken by the W.H.O., necessary economy would be effected in the cost of the surveillance machinery

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[24]Public Accounts Committee, 21st Report, (1971-72), pp. 40-41.

[25]Public Accounts Committee, 101st Report (1969-70), para 1.67.

[26]Public Accounts Committee, 21st Report (1971-72), pp. 11-12.

[27]*Ibid.*, p. 12.

consistent with efficiency. They, however, desired that in the meantime, the expenditure of the surveillance machinery should be kept under constant review.

Development of Vehicles

The Committee have in an earlier report[28] drawn attention to the fact that nearly 50 per cent of the fleet of 2,653 vehicles at the disposal of States for the implementation of the Malaria Eradication Programme was off of the road. The Committee expressed the hope that the examination of the vehicles would be speedily completed. In their reply,[29] the Government stated that 1,813 vehicles were 11 to 16 years old; and 837 vehicles 8 to 10 years old. The States have been asked to from Condemnation Boards to survey the vehicles.

In their 21st Report (1971-72), the Committee urged[30] the Government to impress upon the States the necessity of completing the survey of the vehicles expeditiously so that action could be taken thereafter to discard the vehicles which had outlived their life and to replace them by new vehicles early.

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[28]Public Accounts Committee, 42nd Report (Third Lok Sabha), 71st Report (Fourth Lok Sabha) and 101st Report (1969-70), para 174.

[29]Public Accounts Committee, 21st Report (1971-72), pp. 12-13.

[30]*Ibid.*, p. 13.

I. PRIVILEGE ISSUES

HIMACHAL PRADESH VIDHAN SABHA

(i) Alleged misreporting of proceedings of the House by a newspaper

On March 25, 1968, Shri Daulat Ram Chauhan, a member, addressed a letter to the Speaker complaining that on March 19, 1968, during the course of discussion on the Financial Statement, he had referred to the Chinese Agents and Foreign Missionaries being active in the border areas and converting people to Christianity. But the *Tribune* of March 20, 1968, had reported as follows:—

> "Mr. Daulat Ram Chauhan pleaded for the Government's vigilance against foreign spies who under the garb of missionaries were engaged in converting the tribals in the border areas of the State."

Shri Chauhan alleged that it was not a faithful reporting and was rather a wilful mis-representation or suppression of his speech and amounted to a breach of privilege.

The Speaker, Shri Des Raj Mahajan, referred the matter to the Committee of Privileges.

Findings and Recommendations of the Committee

The Committee of Privileges, after hearing Shri Daulat Ram Chauhan and Shri Tara Chand Gupta, the correspondent of the *Tribune*, in their First Report, presented to the House on April 1, 1970, reported, *inter alia*, as follows:—

> "Your Committee considers that the *Tribune* Correspondent had given a substance of the speech and his omission to the use of the words 'Chinese Agents' would not go to mean that any attempt was made to suppress the activities of the Chinese having already used the words 'foreign spies.'

"Your Committee was unable to find any grounds to prove malice of *malafide* conduct on the part of the *Tribune* Correspondent. Hence, in their opinion, no case of breach of privilege is made out in respect of this complaint.

"Your Committee accordingly reports with the recommendation that the complaint be dropped and House be informed accordingly."

Action Taken by the House

The House considered the report of the Committee on April 6, 1970 and accepted the findings and recommendation of the Committee of Privileges.

(ii) Alleged misreporting of proceedings of the House by a newspaper

On March 11, 1968, Shri Brahma Nand, a member, addressed a letter to the Speaker stating that in reply to his supplementary question put to the Chief Minister on March 13, 1968, as to whether the Himachal Pradesh Government was against abolition of food zones in the country, the Chief Minister had stated:—

"Himachal Pradesh was in favour of joint food zone with Punjab but so far as the question relating to the entire country was concerned, Himachal Pradesh could not possibly interfere with the policy regarding the food zones."

Shri Brahma Nand complained that the *Tribune* of March 14, 1968, had, however, reported that "Shri Brahma Nand was cautioned by the Chief Minister for raising the 'demand' for abolition of food zones on all-India basis." The member alleged that the *Tribune* had misreported the relevant proceedings of the House with the intention of casting reflections on him. He requested the Speaker to take appropriate action in the matter.

The Speaker, Shri Des Raj Mahajan, referred the matter to the Committee of Privileges.

Findings and Recommendations of the Committee

The Committee of Privileges, after hearing Shri Brahma Nand and Shri Tara Chand Gupta, the correspondent of the *Tribune*, in

their First Report, presented to the House on April 1, 1970, reported *inter alia* as follows:—

> "Your Committee considered the context in which the question was put and the answer was received and taking regard to the fact that the substance of the answer was given in the report, and further because no malice or malafide is inferred from the circumstances, it is of opinion that the reporting made by the correspondent can be considered to be substantially correct.
>
> "Therefore, the Committee is of the opinion that no action is called for and no case of breach of privilege is made out as a result of this complaint."

Action taken by the House

The House considered the report of the Committee on April 6, 1970 and accepted the findings and recommendation of the Committee of Privileges.

(iii) **Misreporting of members' speeches in the House by a newspaper**

On March 5, 1968, Shri Kashmir Singh, a member, during the course of his speech on the Motion of Thanks to the Lieutenant Governor's Address to the Assembly, stated that the members of the services from Punjab allocated to Himachal Pradesh as a result of the integration of the services were 'third grade' as compared to those allocated to Punjab and Haryana.[1] When that speech was reported in the newspapers, the Himachal Non-Gazetted Services Union, Simla, took objection and published a resolution in *The Tribune* of March 11, 1968, saying that 'the Union deplores condemnation of Himachal Pradesh Officers' etc., and expressed resentment that such criticism should have been made of the entire services. On the same day, Shri Kashmir Singh referred to the above mentioned news item and clarified that he never meant to condemn the entire services and that he had been misquoted by some interested pople. Thereupon, Shri Tapindra Singh, another member, raised[2] a point of order saying that Shri Kashmir Singh was referring to a news item in *The Tribune* and that if he had been misreported by that newspaper, a question of breach of

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[1]H.P. Vidhan Sabha Deb., March 5, 1968.

[2]*Ibid.*, March 11, 1968.

privilege had arisen. Thereupon, the Speaker, Shri Des Raj Mahajan, observed as follows :—

> "The Hon'ble member (Shri Kashmir Singh) met me in my Chamber and I told him to give it in writing. I will get it investigated and report it to the House."

On March 14, 1968, Shri Tapindra Singh wrote a letter to the Speaker regarding the alleged misreporting by The *Tribune* of the remarks made by Shri Kashmir Singh in the House on March 5, 1968, by publishing a resolution of the Himachal Non-Gazetted Services Union, Simla. Shri Tapindra Singh also complained that the *Tribune* of March 12, 1968, had deliberately omitted a reference to the point of order raised by him in the House on March 11, 1968, regarding that matter and the Speaker's observations thereon.

The Speaker referred the matter to the Committee of Privileges.

Findings and recommendations of the Committee

The Committee of Privilges, after hearing Shri Tapindra Singh, Shri Tara Chand Gupta, the Correspondent of The *Tribune* and Shri Kesav Verma, Joint Secretary of the Himachal Pradesh Non-Gazetted Services Federation, reported, *inter alia* as follows:—

> "This Committee considered carefully the substance of this news item and is of the opinion that no notice should be taken of the same as the said news item only depicted the feeling expressed by the services which were naturally aroused as a result of the speech made by Shri Kashmir Singh, M.L.A. whereby he decidedly branded the services given to Himachal Pradesh as 'third grade'. In the said news item it was further specified that the services had no means of defending themselves before the 'honourable forum' of the House and the Union appealed to the Government to treat the services as their own limb for the betterment of the State. In view of these observations made by the Union in that news item, the Committee considers that *per se* no case of breach of privilege is made out against Shri Keshav Verma (Joint Secretary of the Himachal Pradesh Non-Gazetted Services Federation) and the members of the said Union.
>
> This Committee, therefore, infers that Shri Tara Chand Gupta, the Correspondent, did not correctly report the news item

when he mentioned that the Union had deplored for the speeches made inside the House. For this the responsibility should rest entirely upon Shri Tara Chand Gupta, correspondent of the *Tribune*.

The second matter referred to by Shri Tapindra Singh related to the suppression of certain facts in the news item of the *Tribune* dated the 12th March, 1968.

The Committee was shown the news-item pertaining to the said proceedings which were published in other papers of which *The Statesman*, dated the 13th March, 1968, is one, and in this newspaper, no doubt the point of order raised by the Hon'ble Member and the reply given by the Hon'ble Speaker were mentioned in detail. It is abundantly clear that the suppression of the news-item from the newspaper reporting did cast a reflection upon the true intention of Shri Kashmir Singh while he was giving his reply on the floor of the House. It was very essential to have given publicity to this aspect that Shri Kashmir Singh disowned the condemnation of services foisted upon him and even stated that he was misunderstood and that the paper had given a wrong reporting.

The Committee, therefore, concludes that a deliberate attempt was made by Shri Tara Chand Gupta to save his position. A case of breach of privilege is made out against him for misreporting in respect of the news item of The *Tribune* dated the 12th March, 1968.

As regards the punishment to be awarded to Shri Tara Chand Gupta, this Committee gave him an opportunity to appear again before the Committee to reconcile the discrepancies and inconsistencies in his statements. In fact, all the evidence that existed against him was read out to him for his explanation. Shri Tara Chand Gupta ultimately apologised in writing before the Committee for the wrong that he has done. This Committee considers that Shri Gupta has genuinely expressed his regret for the mistake which he has committed.

Accordingly, the Committee would recommend that the apology tendered by Shri Tara Chand Gupta be accepted."

Action taken by the House

The House considered the Report of the Committee on April 6, 1970 and adopted the following motion :—

> "While agreeing with the report of the Committee of Privileges presented to the House on the 1st April, 1970, and considering the punishment awarded to Shri Tara Chand Gupta, Correspondent of *Tribune* as inadequate, directs that the press credentials accorded to him by the Government may be withdrawn."[3]

MADHYA PRADESH VIDHAN SABHA

(i) Shouting of slogans and throwing of handbills from the Visitors' Gallery on the Floor of the House

On March 20, 1971, at 16.20 hours, two persons shouted slogans and threw handbills from the Visitors' Gallery on the floor of the House.[4] They were immediately taken into custody by the security staff. After some time, Shri Krishnapal Singh a member, moved the following motion which was adopted by the House:—

> "This House resolves that the two persons calling themselves Prabha Shanker Chaturvedi and Shyamlal Purohit, who at 4.20 P.M. today shouted slogans and threw handbills from the Visitors' Gallery on the floor of the House and who were immediately taken into custody by the Security Officer, have confessed their guilty and are, therefore, guilty of committing contempt of this House.
>
> This House further resolves that they be sentenced to simple imprisonment till the end of the current session."

In pursuance of the above motion adopted by the House, a Warrant of Commitment, addresed to the Superintendent, Central Jail, Bhopal, was issued by the Speaker in respect of the two persons concerned separately, directing the latter to take them into custody and to keep them in the Central Jail, Bhopal till the end of the current session.

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[3]*Ibid.*, April 6, 1970.

[4]M.P. Vidhan Sabha Deb., March 20, 1971, (Original in Hindi).

(ii) **Shouting of slogans, throwing of leaflets and jumping from the Visitors' Gallery on the Floor of the House:**

On February 27, 1970, at 16.50 hours, a person shouted slogans, threw leaflets and jumped from the Distinguished Visitors' Gallery on the Floor of the House.[5]

On March 2, 1970 Shri Ram Kishore Shukla, Chairman, Committee of Privileges, moved the following motion which was adopted by the House :—

> "This House resolves that the person caling himself Prakash Choubey, who at 4.50 P.M., on the 27th February, 1970 shouted slogans, threw leaflets and jumped from the Distinguished Visitors' Gallery on the Floor of the House, causing obstructions in the proceedings of the House, has committed a grave contempt of this House. He is therefore, guilty of committing contempt of this House.
>
> This House further resolves that he be sentenced to simple imprisonment till the end of the current session and be kept in prison in the Central Jail, Bhopal."[6]

In pursuance of the above decision of the House, a Warrant of Commitment was issued by the Speaker to the Superintendent, Central Jail, Bhopal, directing him to take the said Prakash Choubey into custody and keep him in the Central Jail Bhopal till the last day of the current session.

(iii) **Casting aspersions on the conduct of the Speaker by a member during his evidence before a Committee of the House**

On April 3, 1963, a Special Committee of the House appointed by the Speaker to investigate into a matter arising out of a letter, written by Shri Ram Swarup, a member, to the Minister for Agriculture regarding Demands for Grants for the Department of Agriculture, presented a Special Report to the House stating, *inter alia*, as follows:—

> "On the 29th March, 1963, while deposing before the Committee, Shri Ram Swarup Verma had, *inter alia*, stated as follows :—
>
> 'The said letter was deliberately and particularly brought before the House and was deliberately read before it. It

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[5]M.P. Vidhan Sabha Deb., February 27, 1970 (Original in Hindi).
[6]*Ibid.*, March 2, 1970.

was done in spite of my request not to do so. I believe that the Speaker wanted to lower my position in the House. This was done by the Speaker because before the commencement of the session, I had given a notice of no-confidence motion against the Speaker which was later withdrawn by me due to certain reasons. Therefore, the Speaker was in search of an opportunity when he could lower my position in the House for giving notice of the said motion..... The Speaker deliberately, with a view to lower my position, read that letter in the House, though there was no connection of this letter with the Rules of Procedure of the House. The Speaker read this letter with a view to lower my position in the House and accordingly it can not be a matter of breach of privilege.....'

It is the unanimous opinion of the Committee that the above statement is an aspersion on the conduct of the Speaker and has lowered the dignity of Speaker. Therefore, the Committee at its sitting held on the 1st April, 1963, decided to make a special report on this subject to the House and to request the House that by this statement Shri Ram Swarup Verma has deliberately levelled serious allegations against the Speaker and, therefore, has committed a breach of privilege and contempt of the House. The Committee do authorise its Chairman to move a motion on the subject in the House after the presentation of its report."

On April 3, 1963, the Chairman of the Special Committee, Shri Gulsher Ahmed moved the following resolution:—

"Shri Ram Swarup Verma, a member of the House, on the 29th March, 1963, while deposing before the Special Committee appointed by this House, has deliberately levelled serious allegations against the Speaker and has committed a breach of privilege and contempt of the House."[7]

[7]M.P. Vidhan Sabha Deb., November 3, 1968, p. 2824 (Original in Hindi).

The matter was, thereafter, referred to the Committee of Privileges for investigation, on a motion adopted by the House.

Findings and recommendations of the Committee of Privileges

The Committee of Privileges, in their Second Report presented to the House on October 3, 1963, reported *inter alia,* as follows:—

> "The Committee examined in the light of facts, the objectionable portions of the impugned statement of Shri Verma. All the allegations which were levelled against the Speaker were found to be baseless. Therefore, the Committee has come to the conclusion that the allegations which were levelled by Shri Verma in his statement constitute a breach of privilege and contempt of the House.
>
> As the member has expressed regrets for his statement and has also assured the Committee to maintain the dignity of the House in future, the Committee recommends that keeping in view its own dignity, honour and conventions, no further action be taken by the House in the matter."[8]

No further action was taken by the House in the matter.

UTTAR PRADESH VIDHAN SABHA

(i) **Throwing of leaflets from the Visitors' Gallery on the floor of the House**

On August 31, 1971, some persons threw leaflets from the Visitors' Gallery on the floor of the House. They were immediately taken into custody and removed from the Visitors' Gallery.

Sometime later in the day, on an enquiry from a member, the Deputy Speaker informed[9] the House that as the House was in the process of a division at the time of the incident and no obstruction had been caused directly to the proceedings of the House, no notice of the said incident had been taken. He felt that as the incident had not obstructed the proceedings of the House, the persons concerned might be set free.

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[8]Original in Hindi.

[9]U.P.V.S. Deb., August 31, 1971 (Original in Hindi).

The House agreed and no further action was taken in the matter.

(ii) Throwing of leaflets from the Visitors' Gallery on the floor of the House:

On August 27, 1971, two persons threw leaflets from the Visitors' Gallery on the floor of the House. They were immediately taken into custody and removed from the Visitors' Gallery.

Soon thereafter, the Deputy Speaker informed[10] the House that the arrested persons had become unconscious and observed that it would be desirable to send them to hospital for recovery instead of punishing them. He added that they had, therefore, been let off and arrangements made for medical attention to them.

The matter was, thereafter, closed.

[10]U.P.V.S. Deb., August 27, 1971 (Original in Hindi).

LOK SABHA

Government should see that Ordinances are issued only if there is real emergency or urgency justifying the issue of Ordinances

On November 15, 1971 when the Deputy Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Shri Kedar Nath Singh, sought to lay on the Table of the House copies of thirteen Ordinances issued by the President under provisions of Article 123(2)(a) of the Constitution during the preceding inter-session period, a Member, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, raised an objection that never before in the history of the House, so many Ordinances were issued during a particular inter-session period. Shri Vajpayee also stated that he had written a letter in this regard to the Speaker. The Deputy Speaker, who was in the Chair at that time, observed that nothing could prevent the copies of Ordinances being laid on the Table. The letter of the Member was with the Speaker and that would be given due consideration. The Deputy Minister of Parliamentary Affairs then laid on the Table copies of the Ordinances.[1]

On November 16, 1971, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee again raised the matter and demanded that the Speaker might make some observation in the matter. The Speaker, thereupon, observed as under:—

> "I agree with you that so many Ordinances should not have been issued.... I personally think it is not a light matter to be ignored. Certain observations have been made by my predecessor Mr. Mavalankar based on very sound judgment. There was such a brief spell of inter-session, not more than three months, and there are a number of Ordinances which perhaps could wait. I would invite the attention of the Government to see that there is real emergency or urgency justifying the issue of the Ordinances. There should not be much of a hurry about those Ordinances that can wait for the session of Parliament. I did not say about all the Ordinances. Those Ordinances which have no urgency should not be pushed through in the inter-session period. I will be taking it up with the

[1]L.S. Deb., November 15, 1971.

Prime Minister. We will have to evolve some method of continuing this convention, so that there may be no objection in future. After all, we have been repeating this since the time of Shri Mavalankar. All of us have stuck to it all these years. We discussed it in the Presiding Officers' Conference also. I assure you, I will bring all these facts to the notice of the Prime Minister."[2]

On November 22, 1971 when some Members again raised the matter, the Speaker observed as under:—

"I will request you not to ask me to repeat the observation that I had already made in very strong terms. But if you think that there should be some distinction between financial and non-financial tax and non-tax Ordinances, there is nothing in my knowledge on which I can base my ruling. All I can say is that I do not approve of an Ordinance just at the time when the House is about to meet."[3]

Discussion of Matters Sub-judice

On November 16, 1971 when the item regarding motion on the incidents at 7-Jantar Mantar Road was taken up, a Member, Shri Narsingh Narain Pandey, raised a point of order that the matter to be discussed under the motion was *sub judice* and , therefore, could not be discussed in the House. Some Members expressed their views on the point of order. The Speaker observed that the motion which was on the order paper was different in form. The matter was considered at a meeting of Leaders of Groups and it was pointed out that 'forcible occupation of premises etc.' was *sub judice*. But the motion was about the role of the police. If a matter was partly *sub judice* and partly not *sub judice*, the part which was not *sub judice* could be discussed. The Speaker also referred to the Report of the Committee of Presiding Officers (Page Committee) which had examined the question of *sub judice*.

The motion was moved by Shri Morarji R. Desai and it was negatived after discussion.[4]

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[2]L.S. Deb., November 16, 1971.

[3]L.S. Deb., November 22, 1971.

[4]L.S. Deb., November 16, 1971.

Convening of the Sitting of the House on a day other than the day to which it was adjourned

On December 3, 1971 (Friday) Lok Sabha was adjourned to meet again on Monday, the 6th December, 1971. After adjournment of the House, there was aggression by Pakistan on India and it was decided to convene a sitting of the House on Saturday, December 4, 1971. Members were informed of the sitting of the House through the following paragraph in Bulletin Part II dated the 3rd December, 1971:—

> "Under rule 15 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, the Speaker has directed that Lok Sabha, which had been adjourned till Monday, the 6th December, 1971, will now sit on Saturday, the 4th December, 1971 at 11 A.M.
>
> All Members are requested to attend."

The All India Radio was also requested on December 3, 1971 to announce the convening of the sitting of Lok Sabha on December 4, 1971 over the A.I.R. after short intervals.

A List of Business for December 4, 1971 was also issued on December 3, 1971.[5]

Changes in the time of sittings of the House and dispensing with the Question Hour and Calling Attention Matters in Emergency

On the evening of December 3, 1971, Pakistan launched an aggression on India. On December 4, 1971, the Speaker informed[6] the House that he had agreed to the proposals made at a meeting held by the Prime Minister with the leaders of the Opposition Groups that with effect from Monday, the 6th December, 1971 till the end of the session:—

(1) Lok Sabha would sit from 10 A.M. to 1 P. M.; and

(2) There would be no Question Hour and Calling Attention matters.

The above decision remained in force till the termination of the session *i.e.* till December 23, 1971.

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[5]Bn. Pt. II, December 3, 1971, (para 453) and List of Business, December 4, 1971.

[6]L. S. Deb., December 4, 1971 and Bn. Pt. II, December 4, 1971, para 455.

Statement by Minister: In deciding what statements should be made first on the floor of the house, a distinction has to be drawn between matters of policy and news

On December 3, 1971, points were raised by certain Members that the Government were briefing the Press about developments on the Indo-Pakistan borders, but the House was not being taken into confidence. They demanded that the House should be informed of the developments from day to day. The Speaker, thereupon, observed as under:—

> "I quite appreciate what you say and I wish I could convey it to the Prime Minister. But as soon as she returns, I will be conveying it. The Defence Minister also is not here. He has gone and he may be aware of the position a little better when he returns. About informing the House as to what is going on day to day, we will have to settle that procedure. I will inform the House how we propose to do it.
>
> * * * * *
>
> Their case, in my opinion, is very much valid. When you give information to the press outside when Parliament is sitting, it is also incumbent and very much necessary that the information should also be given to the House. The reason that anything that you say here would be made public, is lost when you go to the press."[7]

Towards the close of the day, some Members again raised the matter and submitted that Government had not given any news about the border developments to the Press and the entire country was anxious to know about the developments. The Deputy Speaker observed as under:—

> "Now, if there has been a confusion like that, I think, the confusion should be cleared. These are days when the whole country is anxious to know what is going on on our borders. A distinction has to be drawn between what is policy and what is news. It is true that in the matter of policy, the Government should first come before the House, before going to the press. If information and news of what is happening on our borders should be withheld or dalayed, until the Government is able to make a simultaneous statement in the House and to the press, then, I think, it is unfortunate. It will not be in the

[7]L.S. Deb., December 3, 1971.

national interest. It will give rise to all sorts of speculations.

I understand from the Members that the Speaker said that a procedure is to be evolved. So, until a procedure is evolved, the present practice of the Government giving news to the press should continue and it is only in matters of policy that the Government should first come before Parliament.....I have said the Government should continue to give whatever news it wants to give to the Press, because for the next two days, Parliament will not be in session. If there is a black-out of news, all sorts of speculations will arise in the country. That will not be good for the morale of the people and that will not be in the national interest...."[8]

Adjournment of the House to mark Recognition of Bangla Desh.

On December 6, 1971, after the Prime Minister made a statement in Lok Sabha announcing the recognition of Bangla Desh by the Government of India, some Members suggested that in order to mark the historic occasion, the House might be adjourned for the day. The Speaker agreed and adjourned the House at 10.56 hours (The House was scheduled to sit till 1 P. M.).[9]

Suspension of proviso to Rule 66 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha permitted as a special case to pass urgent Bills due to Emergency on account of Pakistani aggression on India

During the Third Session of Fifth Lok Sabha, after the Emergency was declared in the country due to Pakistani aggression on India, Government brought before the House several Bills which were dependent on other Bills and were to be passed urgently. Under proviso to Rule 66, a Bill which was dependent wholly or partly on another Bill, could not be taken up in the House for consideration and passing until the Bill on which it was dependent had been passed by the Houses and assented to by the President. The Speaker, therefore, permitted the Government to move motions for the suspension of proviso to Rule 66 in order to pass all those urgent Bills one after the other, as a special case.

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[8] *Ibid.*
[9] L.S. Deb., December 6, 1971.

On December 22, 1971 after the motion for suspension of proviso to Rule 66, in its application to the motions for consideration and passing of the North-Eastern Council Bill, 1971 in as much as it was dependent upon the North Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Bill, 1971, Constitution (Twenty-seventh Amendment) Bill, 1971, and the Government of Union Territories (Amendment) Bill, 1971, was adopted the Speaker observed as under:—

> "This was a very tight programme. I have been relaxing it after declaration of the Emergency. Just as war-hit areas have to be rehabilitated, we will have to rehabilitate our procedure also this session. This should not be taken as a precedent. I am not going to follow it in the next session." [10]

[10]L.S. Deb., December 22, 1971.

POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE STATES*

[December 1, 1971—February 29, 1972]

(a) General

Reorganisation of North-Eastern Region

The two significant measures enacted by Parliament during its Winter Session to achieve reorganisation of the North Eastern region are the North-Eastern Council Act and the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act.[1] The latter provides for conferring Statehood on the Union Territories of Manipur and Tripura, elevation of the status of Meghalaya to a full-fledged State, and formation of the new Union Territories of Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh out of the present Mizo district and NEFA respectively.[2]

The Union Territory of Mizoram will have a legislature and a Council of Ministers with a Lieutenant Governor. In NEFA there is already an Agency Council consisting of the Member of Parliament from the area and the representatives of the Panchayati Raj bodies. It has been decided to convert it into a Council and enable it to function as a deliberative and advisory body. It has also been decided to appoint a few members of the Council as advisers to the Chief Commisioner.[3]

As a result of the reorganization in the region, some modifications have been made in the representation to the Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha and the composition of the Legislative Assemblies. So far as the Rajya Sabha is concerned, there is no change in regard to Assam, Manipur and Tripura. Meghalaya, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh will have one seat each in the Rajya Sabha.[4]

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*This feature, prepared by the Library, Reference and Information Service (Lok Sabha Secretariat), is based on newspaper reports and no responsibility is accepted by the Lok Sabha Secretariat for the accuracy or veracity of the information or views contained therein.

[1]The President gave his assent to these Acts on December 30, 1971.

[2]*Hindustan Times*, December 10, 1971; *National Herald*, New Delhi, January 10, 1972.

[3]*National Herald*, New Delhi, January 10, 1972.

[4]*Ibid.*

There is no change so far as the membership to the Lok Sabha from Assam is concerned. Mizoram will have one seat in the Lok Sabha. Meghalaya, which had only one seat, will now have two. So far as Manipur, Tripura and Arunachal are concerned, there will be no change in the existing representation.[5]

Each of the three new States will have a 60—seat Assembly. The number of seats in the Assam Assembly will be reduced from 126 to 114.[6]

At present the jurisdiction of the Assam and Nagaland High Court extends to the entire north-Eastern region except Manipur and Tripura where courts of judicial commissioners exist. It has been decided to have a common High Court and a common Bar Council for the region. There will be a Division bench of the High Court sitting outside Gauhati. For the present, at least one judge would sit at Imphal and another at Agartala.[7]

There will be two joint cadres for All-India services—one for Assam and Meghalaya and the other for Manipur and Tripura.[8]

The whole of Shillong will be a part of Meghalaya. The State of Assam will keep its capital in Shillong till a new one is created.[9]

The development of the region is sought to be achieved by creating the North-Eastern Council and vesting it with power to prepare a regional plan and ensure its implementation. The Chief Ministers of all the five States[10] and Mizoram and one of the counsellors for Arunachal Pradesh will represent their respective units in the Council. The Governor and the Administrators of Union Territories will also be members of the Council.

The North-Eastern Council will be an advisory body. Like the Zonal Councils, it will discuss and make recommendations regarding

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[5]*Ibid.*

[6]*Ibid.*

[7]*Ibid.*

[8]*Ibid.*

[9]*Hindustan Times*, December 15, 1971; and *Times of India*, New Delhi, January 11, 1972.

[10]Nagaland has not so far given its approval to the establishment of the Council (*Hindustan Times*, December 25, 1971).

matters of common interest to two or more States or any State and the Central Government.[11]

Shri B. K. Nehru, Governor of Assam and Nagaland was, on January 10, named the Governor of Meghalaya, Tripura and Manipur when they attained full Statehood on January 21.[12]

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, formally inaugurated on January 20 the new State of Meghalaya and the new Union Territory of Arunachal Pradesh at two ceremonies at Shillong and Ziro.[13] The new States of Manipur and Tripura and the Union Teritory of Mizoram were inaugurated by the Prime Minister on January 21, marking the completion of the reorganisation of the north-eastern region.[14]

Elections to State Assemblies

Elections to the Assemblies in 16 States and two Union Territories were scheduled to be held between March 6 and 11, 1972. The first stage of the 1972 General Election began on February 1, 1972 with the issue of writ notifications by the Governors of 11 States (*viz.*, Andhra, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Manipur, Mysore and Rajasthan) calling upon the electorate to choose their representatives to the State Assemblies. Following the issue of the writ notifications the Election Commission notified the final schedule of elections to these State Assemblies.[15]

Election notifications by the Governors of five more States (*viz.* Haryana, Punjab, Meghalaya, Tripura and West Bengal) and the Lieutenant Governors of the Union Territories of Delhi and Goa were issued on February 4, 1972. While Goa was to elect 30 members to the Territory's Legislative Assembly, the poll in the Union Territory of Delhi was for electing 56 members of the Metropolitan Council.[16]

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[11] *National Herald*, New Delhi, January 11, 1972.

[12] *Times of India*, New Delhi, January 11, 1972; *Hindustan Times*, January 11. 1972.

[13] *Indian Express*, New Delhi, January 21, 1972; *Statesman*, Delhi, January 21, 1972.

[14] *Indian Express*, New Delhi, January 22, 1972.

[15] *The Statesman*, Delhi, February 2, 1972.

[16] *Indian Express*, New Delhi, February 5, 1972.

The total number of Legislators to be elected in the 16 States and two Union Territories, involved in the 1972 General Election, is 2727. The Election Commission was conducting the elections with the rolls revised as on January 1, 1971. On this basis, the total number of voters going to the polls in March 1972, would be 19, 29, 95, 674.[17] The scheduled dates of polling and the State-wise break-up of constituencies and voters are indicated below.[18]

State	Dates of Polling	No. of Constituencies	No. of Voters
Andhra Pradesh	March 5 & 8, 1972	287	2,45,39,544
Assam	March 7 & 11, 1972	114	62,96,198
Bihar	March 5, 7, 9 & 11, 1972	318	3,09,25,420
Gujarat	March 5 & 8, 1972	168	1,24,80,605
Haryana	March 11, 1972	81	50,71,163
Himachal Pradesh	March 5 & 8, 1972	68	18,04,765
Jammu & Kashmir	March 8, 9 & 11, 1972	75	22,85,600
Madhya Pradesh	March 8 & 11, 1972	296	2,08,42,129
Maharashtra	March 5, 7 & 9, 1972	270	2,58,91,761
Manipur	March 6, 9 & 11, 1972	60	6,02,696
Meghalaya	March 9, 1972	60	4,16,742
Mysore	March 5 & 9, 1972	216	1,50,83,923
Punjab	March 11, 1972	104	72,42,166
Rajasthan	March 6, 9 & 11, 1972	184	1,39,39,000
Tripura	March 11, 1972	60	7,62,427
West Bengal	March 11, 1972	280	2,23,04,856
Union Territory			
Delhi	March 11, 1972	56	20,56,402
Goa, Daman & Diu	March 11, 1972	30	4,50,277
TOTAL		2727	19,29 95,674

[17] *Tribune*, February 7, 1972.

[18] Ibid., *Hindustan Times*, February 2, 1972, *Indian Express*, New Delhi, February 5, 1972 and *National Herald*, Lucknow, February 8, 1972.

Code of Conduct for Elections

While notifying the final schedule of Elections to Assemblies in 11 States, the Election Commission, on February 1, 1972, also issued an 11-point Code of Conduct to be observed by the political parties, as well as the State Governments, in the interest of free and fair elections. The Code, *inter alia*, forbids appeals to caste or communal feelings and the use of religious places for election propaganda.

It also cautions against malicious criticism of candidates or levelling of unverified allegations against them. The ruling party has been asked to make sure that there is no ground for complaint of misuse of official position for election purposes.[19]

Uncontested Returns

By February 14, 1972, as the first stage of the 1972 Elections was completed with the expiry of the time limit for withdrawal of nominations, there were, in all, 33 uncontested returns to different State Assemblies. Of these, 30 seats were claimed by the Congress (R); the remaining 3 seats were won by the All Party Hill Leaders Conference of Meghalaya. Prominent among those elected without a contest were Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister, Syed Mir Qasim, Meghalaya Chief Minister, Capt. Williamson Sangma, and the Andhra Pradesh Deputy Chief Minister, Shri B. V. Subba Reddy.[20]

The State-wise break-up of the uncontested returns was:[21]

Andhra Pradesh	17
Assam	2
Jammu and Kashmir	5
Maharashtra	3
Manipur	1
Meghalaya	3
Punjab	1
Rajasthan	1

Congress (R) High Command's Warning to 'Rebel' Candidates

Following the finalisation of the lists of Congress (R) nominees for the March 1972 Assembly Elections, a number of Congressmen

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[19] *Hindustan Times*, February 2, 1972.

[20] *Hindustan Times*, February 15, 1972 and *Times of India*, New Delhi, February 12 and 15, 1972.

[21] *Ibid.*

in different States, who were denied the Congress(R) ticket, had entered the field as Independents against the official candidates of the Party. On February 9, two senior members of the Congress (R) High Command, Shri Uma Shankar Dikshit and Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, issued a warning that the High Command would not tolerate indiscipline and stern action would be taken against all those who contested against official party candidates or opposed nominees of parties with which the Congress (R) had made an adjustment of seats. Both Shri Dikshit and Dr. Sharma asked such party-men who had filed nominations without authorisation to withdraw in time.[22] Later, on February 15, the General Secretary of the A.I.C.C. (R), Shri Chandrajit Yadav, issued a circular asking all Pradesh Congress(R) Committees to take immediate action against partymen who were contesting against official candidates. The 'rebel' candidates, the circular said, should be expelled from the Party for six years.[23]

(b) Individual States

ANDHRA PRADESH

All Congress (O) Legislators cross over to Congress (R)

According to an announcement from New Delhi on December 1, 1971, 14 Congress (O) legislators in Andhra—10 from the State Assembly and four from the Council—had joined the Congress (R). The ruling Congress Party had thus taken into its fold all the 14 Congress (O) legislators in the State Legislature.[24]

Expulsions from Congress(R)

More than 500 'rebel' Congressmen, who had been denied the Congress (R) ticket for the ensuing elections, were reported to have filed their nominations for the 287 Andhra Pradesh Assembly seats. By February 21, 1972, 202 of them had been expelled from the party for six years for contesting against the official party candidates. Similar action was taken against 24 others for working openly against the official candidates.[25]

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[22]*Times of India*, Bombay, February 10, 1972.

[23]*Hindustan Times*, February 16, 1972.

[24]*Statesman*, Delhi, December 2, 1971; and *Hindustan Times*, December 3, 1971.

[25]*Times of India*, Bombay, February 10 and 22, 1972.

ASSAM

Choudhury Resigns : Sinha Takes over as New C.M.

The Assam Chief Minister, Shri Mahendra Mohan Choudhury, resigned on January 29, 1972. Shri Choudhury, who happened to be in New Delhi in connection with a PEC (Pradesh Election Committee) meeting conveyed his resignation to the Assam Governor on the telephone after a brief meeting with the Prime Minister. Subsequently, on January 30, Shri Choudhury formally submitted the resignation of his Ministry to the Governor who asked him and his colleagues to continue in office until a new Ministry was appointed.[26]

On January 31, Shri Sarat Chandra Sinha was sworn in as the Chief Minister in succession to Shri Mahendra Mohan Choudhury. Earlier on the same day, at a meeting of the Assam Congress Legislature Party, Shri Sinha was elected, unopposed; the new leader of the party.[27]

Five more Ministers sworn in

Two Ministers and two Ministers of State were sworn in at Shillong on February 7, 1972, as the nucleus of the new Assam Ministry headed by Shri Sarat Chandra Sinha. The Ministers were : Shri Ranendra Basumatari and Syed Ahmed Ali, and the Ministers of State : Shri Jagannath Singh and Shri Paramananda Gogoi. All the four were members of the outgoing Choudhury Ministry and of the same status. Another Minister was sworn in on February 17, raising the strength of the Ministry to six, inclusive of the Chief Minister.[28]

Expulsions from Congress (R)

Three former Ministers in the outgoing Choudhury Ministry, Shri Jogen Saikia, Shri Sadhan Ranjan Sarkar and Shri Dandi Ram Datta; the Secretary of the Assam Congress (R) Legislature Party, Shri Nakul Das, and another sitting Congress (R) MLA had been expelled from the Congress (R) for six years for contesting against the official

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[26]*The Hindustan Times* and *National Herald*, New Delhi, January 30, 1972, and *The Statesman*, Delhi, January 31, 1972.

[27]*Indian Express*, New Delhi, February 1, 1972.

[28]*The Tribune*, February, 8, 1972; and *The Statesman Weekly*, February 12, 1972, p. 3; and *The Stateman*, Delhi, February 18 1972.

party candidates in the ensuing elections to the State Assembly. By February 22, 1972 the number of those thus expelled from the Congress (R) in Assam had risen to 18.[29]

BIHAR

Shastri Ministry Resigns

The Chief Minister, Shri Bhola Paswan Shastri, Submitted the resignation of his Ministry to the Governor, Shri D. K. Barooah, on December 27, 1971, three days before the State Assembly was scheduled to meet. The Governor accepted the resignation and asked to Chief Minister to continue in office till alternative arrangements were made.[30]

This was the ninth Ministry to fall after the 1967 general elections and fifth after the first mid-term poll in 1969. Shri Shastri himself headed the Government thrice since 1967. The Progressive Vidhayak Dal Ministry had come into existence on June 2, 1971 after the fall of the SVD Government headed by Shri Karpoori Thakur, the then Chairman of the All India Samyukta Socialist Party. The Congress (R) was the dominant partner of the PVD. Its other constituents were the CPI, the breakaway PSP, the BKD, the Jagdeo faction of the Shoshit Dal, the All-India Jharkhand and the Hul Jharkhand. Except the CPI, all constituents had their representatives in the Ministry. After the last Budget session, the CPI parted company with the PVD following differences over the scrapping of the Dutta Commission of Inquiry and delay in the implementation of some radical measures, including the land ceiling reduction ordinance and the urban property ceiling ordinance.[31]

Shri Shastri's resignation and its acceptance by the Governor on December 27, 1971 set at rest speculation about the fate of his Ministry which had been somewhat unstable since the withdrawal of support by the CPI.[32]

Assembly Dissolved

Following the resignation of the 216-day old Progressive Vihyayak Dal Ministry on December 27, 1971, the State Governor, in his report

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[29]*Hindustan Times*, February 17, 1972; and *Indian Express*, New Delhi, February 23, 1972.

[30]*The Statesman*, Delhi, December 28 1971; and *Statesman Weekly*, January 1, 1972, p. 3.

[31]*Hindustan Times*, December 28, 1971.

[32]*Ibid.*

to the President, recommended Central Rule and dissolution of the State Assembly. At the time, a Presidential proclamation could not be issued immediately because of a constitutional hitch and so, the Governor dissolved the Assembly under Article 174 on December 29, 1971 to pave the way for a mid-term poll in March, 1972 in the State.[33]

The Governor also accepted the resignations of all Ministers, Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers, except those of the Chief Minister, Shri Bhola Paswan Shastri and the Deputy Chief Minister Shri Ram Jaipal Singh Yadav, who were to constitute the caretaker Government until the State was put under President's rule.[34]

President's Rule Imposed

Bihar came under the President's Rule on January 9, 1972 for the third time since the 1967 general election with the President issuing a proclamation taking over the State administration under Article 356 of the Constitution. With the take-over of the administration, the resignation of the State's Council of Ministers became effective simultaneously.[35]

Though the Governor had recommended imposition of President's Rule in the State after dissolving the Assembly on December 29, 1971, it was not done immediately because of certain constitutional difficulties. Under the Constitution, Parliament has to ratify imposition of President's Rule in a State within a period of two months. Since Parliament was not likely to meet before March, the Presidential Proclamation had to be delayed for a few days.[36]

Defections from Parties

Shri Shanker Dayal Singh, M.L.C., former Chairman of the Bihar unit of the BKD, was, on December 2, 1971, reported to have joined the Congress (R). Shri Singh had resigned from the chairmanship of the BKD state unit earlier.[37] Another MLC, Shri Awadh Kumar Singh, who had resigned from the Jana Sangh as a protest against its

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[33]*The Statesman*, Delhi, December 30, 1971; and *Hindustan Times*, January 10, 1972.

[34]*The Statesman*, Delhi, December 30 and 31, 1971.

[35]*The Statesman*, January 10, 1972.

[36]*National Herald*, New Delhi, January 10, 1972; *Tribune*, January 10, 1972.

[37]*Hindustan Times*, December 2, 1971.

decision not to contest the Darobhanga Lok Sabha seat, announced on January 5, 1972, that he had joined the Congress (O).[38]

Elections to the State Assembly

In Bihar, the main contenders for the 318 seats in the State Assembly were the Congress (R) (in alliance with the CPI and the PSP rebels), the Congress (O), the Jana Sangh and the Socialist Party. The Congress (R) had forged an alliance with the CPI and the PSP (rebels), under which it was contesting 258 seats on its own, leaving 49 for the CPI and 11 for the PSP (rebels). The Congress (O) had fielded the largest number of candiates (272). The Jana Sangh and the Socialist Party had put up, respectively, 270 and 256 candidates.[39]

GUJARAT

President's Rule Extended

The Lok Sabha approved, on December 4, 1971, the extension of President's Rule in Gujarat for another six months from December 21, 1971.[40]

New Political Party Formed

A new central labour organisation called the National Labour Organisation (NLO) and a new political party to be known as the National Labour Party (NLP) were founded on January 23, 1972 by nearly 140 labour organisations from all over Gujarat which had dissociated themselves from the INTUC earlier. With their activities limited to Gujarat for the present, both the organisations would follow the path of truth and non-violence, according to the constitutions of the organisations adopted in Ahmedabad on January 23. Shri S. R. Vasavada former President of the INTUC, was elected President of the NLP while Shri Yasinkhan Pathan (former President of the Gujarat Branch of the INTUC) that of the NLO.[41]

The Constitution of the NLP provided that it would endeavour to establish a society free from exploitation and prevent exploitation of the labour class by political parties. The new party would contest the

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[38] *Patriot*, January 6, 1972.

[39] *Times of India*, Bombay, February 22, 1972.

[40] *Statesman*, Delhi, December 5, 1971.

[41] *Indian Express*, New Delhi, January 24, 1972.

forthcoming elections to the State Assembly as well as the elections to civic bodies and panchayats.[42]

HARYANA

New Deputy Minister Appointed

Haryana's Chief Parliamentary Secretary, Shrimati Sharda Rani, was sworn in as Deputy Minister by the Governor on January 19, 1972. With Shrimati Sharda Rani's inclusion, the strength of the Haryana Council of Ministers rose to 19—15 Cabinet Ministers and four Deputy Ministers.[43]

Assembly Dissolved

The Haryana Governor, Shri B. N. Chakravarty, dissolved the State Assembly on January 21 on the recommendation of the Chief Minister, Shri Bansi Lal, who later announced that the State would go to polls in March.[44] Speaking at a hurriedly summoned Press Conference in Chandigarh, Shri Bansi Lal made it clear that he had not resigned and his Council of Ministers would continue to be in office until a new Cabinet was formed. After referring to the economic progress made by the State he added, "We are keen on seeking a fresh mandate from the people so that we can go ahead with renewed vigour and enthusiasm."[45]

The Governor told newsmen at Raj Bhawan that the Ministry had the right to continue in office as it had a "huge majority". He explained that it would be wrong to call it a care-taker Government. "There is no porvision for a care-taker Government in the Constitution. Normally, this term is used only for a Government which has resigned and which is asked by the Governor to carry on till alternative arrangements are made. In this case no Minister has resigned", he said.[46]

The Governor further said that under the Constitution the Governor was bound to accept the advice of the Chief Minister, who enjoyed a clear majority in the Vidhan Sabha, and could use his discretion only

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[42] *Ibid.*

[43] *Patriot*, January 20, 1972; and *Motherland*, January 20, 1972.

[44] *Times of India*, New Delhi, January 22, 1972.

[45] *Ibid.*; and *Tribune*, January 22, 1972.

[46] *Ibid.*

when the majority of the Chief Minister was in doubt or if the Budget had not been passed. However in reply to a question, the Governor observed that in the present circumstances democratic conventions demanded that the Government could not take any major policy decisions during its remaining term.[47]

At the time of its dissolution, the Party position in the Haryana Vidhan Sabha, with an effective strength of 78, three seats being vacant, was: Congress (R)—55 (including the Speaker); Vishal Haryana Party—9; Congress (O)—5, Jan Sangh—4; Independents—4; Akali Dal—1.[48]

Elections to the State Assembly

Fresh Elections to the Vidhan Sabha will be held along with the poll in other States on March 11, 1972. The last Assembly election in the State was held in March 1969.[49]

Opposition Front Formed

A non-Communist joint Opposition Front with the Congress (O), the Jana Sangh and the Vishal Haryana Party as its main costituents, had been formed in Haryana to oppose the Congress (R) in the forthcoming elections to the State Assembly. Announcing this at a Press conference at Chandigarh on February 4, 1972, Shri Devi Lal, Opposision leader, said that to give a straight fight to the Congress (R) the Front would field only one candidate for each seat against the rival Congress (R) candidate. Later, on February 15, the Front was reported to have agreed in allotting seats among its partners in 62 of the 81 Assembly constituencies. Of these 62 seats, 24 were allotted to the Congress (O), 19 to the Jana Sangh, 15 to the Vishal Haryana Party and 4 to the Arya Sabha. The Front had also reached an understanding with Independent candidates in 10 other constituencies.[50]

Expulsions from Congress (R)

Twenty-seven Congressmen were, on February 26, 1972, expelled from the Congress (R) by the Haryana Pradesh Congress (R) Committee for contesting the Assembly elections against the approved

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[47] *Ibid.*

[48] *Indian Express*, New Delhi, January 22, 1972.

[49] *Times of India*, New Delhi, January 22, 1972; and *Tribune*, January 22, 1972.

[50] *Times of India*, New Delhi, February 16, 1972; and *The Statesman*, Delhi, February 5, 1972.

candidates of the party. The expulsion, for six years, was announced by the acting President of the Pradesh Congress (R) Committee, Shri D. D. Puri.[51]

HIMACHAL PRADESH

Change of Party Affiliations

Two Lokraj Party M.L.As., Shri Lekhram and Shri Kashmiri Lal, left their party and joined the Congress (R) in Himachal Pradesh on January 21, 1972.[52]

Two Ministers Resign

Shri Daulat Ram Sankhyan, Deputy Minister, had tendered his resignation both from the Himachal Pradesh Ministry and the primary membership of the Congress (R), it was stated in Simla on February 7, 1972. Later, Shri Sankhyan, who was not given the Congress (R) ticket to contest the ensuing elections to the State Assembly, was reported to have filed his nomination papers as an Independent. It was also learnt that in his resignation letter, Shri Sankhyan had stated that he was quitting the Ministry in view of what he described as the "loss of confidence in him by the State leadership". However, on February 10, the Governor of the State removed Shri Sankhyan from office on the advice of the Chief Minister. A Government Press release said that Shri Sankhyan had acted in an "arbitrary manner" in various cases and the Chief Minister had to intervene to set them right.[53]

Another Minister, Shri Padam Dev, the senior-most member of the Parmar Cabinet, who was also denied the Congress (R) ticket for the coming elections, tendered his resignation from the Council of Ministers on February 11. In his letter of resignation to the Chief Minister, Shri Padam Dev was reported to have stated that he was resigning from the Ministry as he felt that following the denial of party ticket to him there was no moral justification for him to continue as a Cabinet Minister.[54]

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[51] *The Sunday Hindusthan Standard*, February 27, 1972.

[52] *Patriot*, January 22, 1972.

[53] *The Tribune*, February 8, 1972; and *Hindustan Times*, February 11, 1972.

[54] *The Tribune*, and *Times of India*, New Delhi February 12, 1972.

Elections in Three Constituencies Postponed

The Election Commissioner announced on February 22, 1972, that elections in three Assembly constituencies of Himachal Pradesh—Kinnaur, Bharmour and Lahaul-Spiti, which were still snowbound, would be held on June 4, 1972.[55]

JAMMU AND KASHMIR

Mir Qasim appointed Chief Minister

The Kashmir Chief Minister, Shri G. M. Sadiq died on December 12, 1971. On the same day, Syed Mir Qasim, Planning Minister in the Sadiq Cabinet and President of Jammu and Kashmir Pradesh Congress (R) Committee, was sworn-in as the new Chief Minister of the State. Along with Shri Qasim, the only other Minister of the former Cabinet present, Shri M. N. Kaul, was also sworn-in. Eleven members of the new Council of Ministers were administered the oath of office on December 13, 1971.[56]

Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Second Amendment —Order, 1965 upheld

The Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court, presided over by the Chief Justice, Shri S. M. Sikri, on January 5, 1972 upheld the constitutional validity of the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Second Amendment Order, 1965, by which the President of India was empowered to replace the *Sadar-i-Riyasat* of Jammu and Kashmir by a Governor for the State.[57]

The Court, therefore dismissed a *habeas corpus* petition challenging a detention under the Jammu and Kashmir Preventive Detention Act, 1964 on the ground that the said Act, having not received the assent of the *Sadar-i-Riyasat* but only of the Governor, was void and *ultra vires*.[58]

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[55]*Times of India*, Bombay, February 23, 1972.

[56]*Hindustan Times*, December 13, 1971; and *Statesman*, Delhi, December 14, 1971.

[57]*Tribune*, January 6, 1972.

[58]*Ibid.*

Janata Party merges with Congress (O)

The Janata Party of Jammu and Kashmir had merged with the Congress (O) Party in the State. The decision was taken by the Party's executive at a meeting held in Jammu on January 14, 1972.[59]

Begum Abdullah Externed

The Kashmir Government, on February 2, 1972, banned the entry of Begum Abdullah, wife of Sheikh Abdullah, into the State for six months "to ensure that her presence is not exploited by interested elements for their own ends". The order of externment was served on the Begum at the New Delhi residence of her husband who had been externed from the State earlier. Meanwhile, 21 people, including Shri Mohiuddin Karra, President of the Kashmir Political Conference, and Maulana Mohammed Syeed Masoodi, a prominent secessionist leader, were also detained under the Jammu and Kashmir Public Security Act. Explaining the action, an official spokesman said that anti-national activities by some elements, including members of the outlawed Plebiscite Front, backed by Sheikh Abdullah, had come to the Government's attention. The spokesman added that the State Government wanted to make it clear that while allowing full scope for he exercise of democratic freedom, it would take no chances in safeguarding the peace and security of the State.[60]

Speaking at a reception in his honour by the Kashmir Press Association, on February 4, 1972 the Kashmir Chief Minister, Syed Mir Qasim denied that the externment of Begum Abdullah and the arrest of 21 secessionists were aimed at removing all hindrances in the way of a Congress victory in the forthcoming Assembly elections in the State. These restrictive steps, Shri Qasim said, had to be taken following renewed secessionist activities jeopardising the concepts of democracy in the State. He made it clear that while all democratic liberties would be allowed, under no circumstances would the State's security and peace be permitted to be disrupted or jeopardised at the time of the election.[61]

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[59]*National Herald*, New Delhi, January 16, 1972.

[60]*The Statesman*, Delhi and *The Times of India*, New Delhi, February 3, 1972.

[61]*The Sunday Tribune*, February 6, 1972.

Expulsions from Congress (R)

Chief Minister, Syed Mir Qasim, on February 16, 1972 expelled 61 members of his party—the Congress (R)—including seven MLAs, for their alleged activities prejudicial to the party's interest in the coming poll. In a statement Shri Sadiq said that these members were either contesting against the party candidates in the elections or were working against the party's interest.[62]

KERALA

Censure Motion Fails

The Kerala Assembly rejected on December 2, 1971, by 72 votes to 56 a no-confidence motion against the Achutha Menon Ministry. This was the first no-confidence motion after the Congress (R) joined the CPI-led Ministry and second since Shri Achutha Menon formed his Ministry.[63]

In the two-day debate on the motion, the Opposition attack against the Government was mostly on the basis of alleged lapses in the police administration now under the Congress (R) leader, Shri Karunakaran. The Youth Congress and the student wing of the Congress (R) also came in for criticism. The Kerala Congress leader, Shri K. M. George, said that the Youth Congress, which had taken to "fascist" means had become a "positive enemy of the people". The Congress (R) members said that the Kerala Congress and the Marxist Party after having noticed that the Youth Congress was making inroads into their respective fields with its "progressive and peaceful" programmes had made a joint front against the Youth Congress.[64]

Winding up the debate the Chief Minister, Shri Achutha Menon, said that the ruling coalition was wedded to "progressive policies". Neither he nor his party (the CPI) was ashamed of the present coalition with the Congress (R). The CPI, he added, was of the view that it would be possible to bring about socialism in the country through peaceful means and the Government would strive for this through legislation. The Home Minister, Shri Krunakaram, deplored the Marxist leaders' talk about taking arms against the Government and said that

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[62] *Hindustan Times*, February 17, 1972.

[63] *Hindustan Times*, December 3, 1971.

[64] *Hindustan Times*, December 3, 1971.

the Government would not tolerate attempts from any quarters to create a "civil war" in the State.[65]

New Levies for Defence effort

The Kerala Government decided on December 13, 1971 to impose additional levies at the instance of the Central Government to raise money for defence efforts. The new levies were surcharge on cinema tickets, motor vehicle taxes and stamp duty with effect from January 1, 1972. These levies were expected to raise an additional revenue of Rs. 65 lakhs to Rs. 70 lakhs a year.[66]

MADHYA PRADESH

SSP MLA Quits Party

Shri Arif Beg, Socialist member of the Madhya Pradesh Assembly had resigned from the party. He was elected on the SSP ticket from the Indore city constituency in the last elections and was Minister for Cooperation in the SVD Ministry.[67]

Three Ministers Resign

Three Cabinet Ministers submited their resignations on January 19, 1972 to the Chief Minister, Shri S. C. Shukla, to "maintain unity in the party". They were: Shri Bhagwat Sabu, Minister for Agriculture, Shri Shatrughan Singh Tiwari, Minister of Forests and Natural Resources, and Shri K. N. Pradhan, Labour Minister.[68] Their resignations were accepted by the Madhya Pradesh Governor, Shri S. N. Sinha on January 21.[69] With their resignations the strength of the Shukla Ministry was reduced to 30.[70]

Sethi Takes over as New C.M.

Shri Prakash Chandra Sethi, Union Minister for Petroleum and Chemicals was, on January 28, 1972, unanimously elected leader of the Madhya Pradesh Congress (R) Legislative Party in place of Shri

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[65] *Hindustan Times*, December 3, 1971.

[66] *Ibid.*, December 14, 1971.

[67] *Times of India*, New Delhi, January 11, 1972.

[68] *Motherland*, January 20, 1972.

[69] *Patriot*, January 22, 1972.

[70] *Ibid.*

Shyama Charan Shukla, who had decided to relinquish the Chief Ministership of the State. In his speech announcing his decision to step down, the outgoing Chief Minister, Shri Shukla, said that a great deal of tension existed in the party because of group rivalries and he had thought it fit to resign in the interest of party unity. He admitted that a divided party could not meet the Opposition challenge in the coming Assembly election.[71]

On January 29, 1972, Shri Prakash Chandra Sethi was sworn in as the new Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh. The outgoing Chief Minister, Shri S. C. Shukla, tendered his resignation to the Governor ten minutes before the oath-taking ceremony. Shri Sethi's resignation as the Union Minister for Petroleum and Chemicals became effective from the same day. Addressing a news conference shortly after he was sworn in, Shri Sethi said that he did not intend to resign his Lok Sabha seat. He was not yet a member of the State Vidhan Sabha.[72]

Two Ministers, Shri Vasantrao Uikey and Shri S. N. Mushran, were sworn in at Bhopal on February 3, 1972. Talking to newsmen the Cheif Minister, Shri P. C. Sethi, indicated that there was not much point in having a full team of Ministers for the transitory period preceding the ensuing elections to the State Assembly. For, in any case, those appointed Ministers would be mostly engaged in election work, he said.[73]

Shri Sethi also announced that he would be contesting the forthcoming Assembly elections, adding that he had taken the plunge into State politics "once forever". He would, however, keep his Lok Sabha seat for the present.[74]

Expulsions from Congress (R)

The Madhya Pradesh *ad hoc* Congress (R) Committee Chief, Shri Shankerlal Tewari, sent out letters on February 16, 1972, expelling from the party for six years 70 Congressmen contesting against the official party nominees in the coming Assembly poll. Sixteen of them

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[71]*Hindustan Times*, and *National Herald*, Lucknow, January 29, 1972.

[72]*Hindustan Times* and *Times of India*, New Delhi, January 30, 1972.

[73]*Times of India*, New Delhi, and *Indian Express*, New Delhi, February 4, 1972

[74]*Indian Express*, February 4, 1972.

were sitting MLAs and one a former Member of Parliament. By February 22, the number of those expelled from the party had risen to 123.[75]

Preliminary Inquiry into Corruption charges against Ex-Ministers

A preliminary inquiry into allegations of corruption against some members of the outgoing Shyama Charan Shukla Ministry had begun, Chief Minister, Shri P. C. Sethi, said at Ujjain on February 23, 1972. He told newsmen that if the preliminary inquiry showed that the *charges were true, a thorough inquiry would follow.*[76]

MAHARASHTRA

Fresh Levies for Bangla Desh

The Maharashtra Government on December 2, 1971 promulgated an Ordinance to raise Rs. 2 crores in a full year in aid of the Bangla Desh refugees. The Ordinance imposed fresh levies on motor vehicles tax, passenger tax and purchase duty on sugarcane. This was the second Ordinance issued by the State Government for raising funds for the Bangla Desh refugees as directed by Centre.[77]

PWP MLA Resigns from Party

Shri P. R. Sanap, MLA, had resigned from the Peasants and Workers Party. In a statement, Shri Sanap said on January 9, 1972 that he was leaving the PWP due to "fundamental political differences" within the Party.[78]

Expulsions from Congress(R)

The expulsion of 42 members from the Congress (R) in Maharashtra was announced on February 14, 1972, following reports of large-scale defiance of party discipline in 16 out of the 26 districts of the State. The list, reports stated, was not exhaustive since for the time being action had been taken only against those who had applied for Congress(R) nomination in the ensuing elections to the State Assembly, but having been denied the party ticket were contesting against

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[75] *Hindustan Times*, February 17, 1972 and *Indian Express*, New Delhi, February 23, 1972.

[76] *The Hindu*, Madras, February 24, 1972.

[77] *Hindustan Times*, December 3, 1971.

[78] *Statesman*, Delhi, January 10, 1972.

the official party nominees. Partymen who were not themselves thus contesting but were working against the Party would be proceeded against later, but before the elections, it was stated.[79]

MANIPUR

Manipur Attains Statehood: President's Rule Extended

Manipur became a full-fledged State on January 21, 1972. On the same day, the President issued a proclamation extending Central rule in the new State. Manipur was already under President's rule as a Union Territory. But a fresh proclamation had to be issued extending the President's rule when the Territory became a full fledged State[80]

Manipur came under President's Rule on October 16, 1969.[81]

MEGHALAYA

Meghalaya became a full-fledged State at midnight of January 19, 1972. A midnight swearing-in ceremony at Raj Bhavan in Shillong put a seal of finality on the formation of the State. The first to be sworn-in was the Chief Justice of the Assam and Nagaland High Court, Shri P. K. Goswami, who would be the Chief Justice of Meghalaya also. He was sworn in by the Assam and Nagaland Governor, Shri B. K. Nehru. In turn, Shri Goswami swore in Shri Nehru as the first Governor of Meghalaya.[82] The Governor then signed papers appointing Capt. Williamson Sangama as Chief Minister of the new State and his other five colleagues as Ministers. The six-man ministry was administered the oath of office and secrecy by the Governor. After procedural formalities, the six-member Meghalaya ministry was allocated portfolios by the Governor.[83]

Thirty-eight members of the Provisional Assembly of the new state of Meghalaya were sworn-in by the Speaker, Shri R. S. Lyngdoh, in the Assembly Chamber on January, 21.[84]

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[79]*Hindustan Times*, February 15, 1972.

[80]*Patriot*, January, 22, 1972.

[81]*Free Press Journal*, Bombay, January 22, 1972.

[82]*Statesman, Delhi*, January 21, 1972; *National Herald*, Lucknow, January 21, 1972.

[83]*Ibid.*

[84]*Tribune*, Chandigarh, January 22, 1972.

MYSORE

New Governor Appointed

Shri Mohanlal Sukhadia, former Chief Minister of Rajasthan, was appointed Governor of Mysore on January 10, 1972 to succeed Shri Dharam Vira. Following his appointment as Governor Shri Sukhadia resigned his membership of the Congress (R) Party and its various committees on January 11.[85]

Congress(R)—CPI Poll Adjustment

The Congress(R) and the CPI in Mysore State had come to an understanding about adjustment of seats in the forthcoming State Assembly elections according to a joint statement issued on February 9, 1972, by Shri Devraj Urs, President of the Mysore P.C.C.(R) and Shri M. S. Krishnan Secretary of the Karnatak State Council of the CPI. The understanding, the statement said, was in pursuance of the A.I.C.C.'s policy decision at the national level.[86]

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23 *suspended from Congress(R)*

Sixty-five dissidents, who were dissatisfied with the selection of Congress (R) nominees for election to the 216-member Mysore Assembly, had filed their nominations from various constituencies, opposing the official Congress(R) condidates. Later, however, 42 of them had withdrawn from the contest, heeding the appeal of the State P.C.C.(R) President, Shri Devraj Urs. The remaining 23 were suspended from the Party.[87]

NAGALAND

Change of Party Affiliations

Sixteen dissident MLAs of the ruling Nagaland Nationalist Organisation (N.N.O.) on February 23, 1972, decided to quit the N.N.O. *en bloc* and "work jointly with the Opposition United Front of Nagaland in the Assembly." A resolution passed at a meeting of the dissidents said that this was done "in the interest of the Naga cause and also as desired by the Naga public". With this development, the Opposition strength in the 52-member State Assembly rose from 7 to 23.[88]

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[85]*Times of India*, New Delhi, January, 11, 1972 and *Motherland*, January 11, and 12, 1972.

[86]*National Herald*, Lucknow, February 10, 1972.

[87]*The Statesman* Delhi, February 14, 1972.

[88]*The Hindu*, Madras, February 24, 1972.

ORISSA

Assembly ratifies Constitution (25th Amendment) Bill

The Orissa Assembly adopted, on January 10, 1972 by voice vote an official motion ratifying the Constitution (25th Amendment) Bill as passed by both Houses of Parliament. The ruling United Front had given freedom of vote to its members on the Bill in view of the difference between the two major partners of the Front—The Swatantra Party and Utkal Congress on the issue.[89]

Ministry Expanded

The United Front Ministry in Orissa was expanded on January 20 with the swearing-in of 12 Deputy Ministers by the Governor, Shri Jogendra Singh. Of the 12 Deputy Ministers, six belonged to the Swantantra Party and six to the Utkal Congress. They were: Shri Damburu Majhi, Shri Ghasiram Majhi, Shri B. T. Dev, Shri P. K. Das, Shri S. K. Dev and Shri R. C. Praharaj (all Swatantra) and Shri Jadunath Dasmohapatra, Shri Birabhadra Singh, Shri Sharai Oram, Shri Debraj Sahoo, Shri G. C. Seth and Shri R. S. Majhi (all Utkal Congress). Five of the 12 new Deputy Ministers were from the backward districts of Koraput, Mayurbhanj and Kalahandi.[90]

PUNJAB

President's Rule Extended

The Lok Sabha approved, on December 4, 1971, the extension of President's Rule in Punjab for another six months from February 5, 1972.[91]

Poll Adjustments

A Congress(R)-CPI agreement on adjustment of seats in the ensuing elections to the Punjab Assembly was announced on February 9, 1972. Under the Agreement the Congress(R) had left 13 of the 104 Assembly seats to the CPI.[92]

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[89]*Times of India*, New Delhi, January 11, 1972.

[90]*Indian Express*, New Delhi, January 21, 1972.

[91]*Statesman*, Delhi, December 5, 1971.

[92]*National Herald*, Lucknow, and the *Tribune* February 10, 1972.

On the same day, a similar electoral adjustment was said to have been reached between the Congress(R) and the Akali Dal Group led by former Chief Minister Shri Gurnam Singh, under which the former had left seven Assembly seats to the latter. However, on February 11, three of the seven candidates of the Gurnam Singh Akali Dal were reported to have decided to contest the election on Congress (R) ticket, while a fourth candidate had, reportedly, declined to enter the arena as the Dal's nominee. Confirming that the three Gurnam Singh Akali Dal candidates had joined the Congress(R), the PCC (R) Chief, Giani Zail Singh, said that his party had adopted them as its own candidates.[93]

Expulsions from Congress(R)

Ten Congressmen of Punjab had been expelled from the party for opposing official party candidates in the Assembly elections, Pradesh Congress(R) General Secretary, Shri S.P. Mittal told newsmen at Ludhiana on February 24, 1972.[94]

RAJASTHAN

Change of Party Affiliations

Two MLAs, Shri Mukat Behari Lal Goel and Shri Nathi Singh, resigned from the Socialist Party and joined the Congress(R) on January 20, 1972. On the same day, Shri Shrawan Lal, a Jan Sangh MLA, announced his decision to resign from the Jan Sangh and join the Swatantra Party.[95]

Code of Conduct for State Political Parties

At a meeting with the Chief Electoral Officer of the Rajasthan State in Jaipur on January 25, representatives of Congress(R), Jan Sangh, Swatantra, Communist Party of India, CPI (Marxist) and the Socialist Party agreed to abide by a Code of Conduct in the coming Assembly elections. The Code of Conduct enjoined upon the political parties not to do or propagate anything which would disrupt the unity of the electorate or create bad blood between different of sections of people.[96]

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[93] *National Herald*, Lucknow, February 10, 1972 and *Times of India*, New Delhi, February 12, 1972.

[94] *Hindustan Times*, February 25, 1972.

[95] *Hindustan Times*, January 21, 1972 and *Times of India*, New Delhi, January 21, 1972.

[96] *Motherland*, January 27, 1972

Congress(R) Expels Speaker and Others

The Rajasthan Pradesh Congress(R) Committee, on February 12, 1972, expelled from the party for six years, Shri N. N. Acharya, Speaker of the State Assembly and ten other sitting MLAs who were contesting against official Congress(R) nominees in the ensuing elections to the State Assembly. Shri Acharya, who had been denied the Congress(R) ticket, had filed his nomination papers from the Mavali Constituency in Udaipur district as an Independent candidate. By February 14, the number of those expelled from the Congress(R) in Rajasthan for opposing the official nominees of the Party had risen to 45.[97]

TAMIL NADU

Felicitations to Bangla Desh

The Tamil Nadu Assembly adopted on December 17, 1971 a Resolution offering its felicitations to Bangla Desh.[98]

The resolution, moved by the Chief Minister, Shri M. Karunanidhi, and unanimously passed after the leaders of various parties in the Assembly spoke on it, urged all the nations of the world to make concerted efforts to get Sheikh Mujhibur Rahman released immediately.[99]

Another aspect of the Assembly Resolution was its offer of sincere thanks to countries like Russia which had stood by India and its condemnation of countries like the U.S.A. which had failed to cooperate with India.[100]

The State Legislative Council also unanimously adopted on December 17, 1971 a Resolution hailing the birth of free Bangla Desh and congratulating the Prime Minister on her successful role in helping the people of that country in their struggle for independence.[101]

DMK-Congress(R) Alliance breaks up

The Tamil Nadu Chief Minister and DMK President, Shri M. Karunanidhi, announced in Madras on February 17, 1972, that the one-year old alliance between his party and the Congress(R) had

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[97] *Hindustan Times*, February 11, 13 and 15, 1972.

[98] *Hindu*, Madras, December 18, 1971.

[99] *Hindu*, Madras, December 18, 1971.

[100] *Statesman*, Delhi, December 18, 1971.

[101] *Hindu*, Madras, December 18, 1971.

ended. He told newsmen that the alliance had broken because the Congress(R) had set up its candidate against the DMK in the Ariyakuppam Assembly by election in the Union Territory of Pondicherry. The alliance between the two parties had come into being on the eve of the Mid-term poll to the Lok Sabha and the Tamil Nadu Assembly, held in March 1971.[102]

Later, on February 24, 1972, the DMK Executive Committee ratified Shri Karunanidhi's decision snapping ties with the Congress (R).[103]

TRIPURA

President's Rule Extended

The President issued on January 21, 1972 a Proclamation extending the Central Rule in Tripura till elections were held for the Assembly of the new State. The State was already under President's Rule as a Union Territory. But a fresh proclamation had to be issued extending President's Rule in view of the fact that Tripura became a full-fledged State on January 21.[104]

Earlier, the 33-member Legislative Assembly of Tripura ceased to exist from the mid-night of January 20, 1972, under the Act of Parliament conferring Statehood on the Union Territory. The Assembly had been suspended simultaneously with the dissolution of the Union Territory's Ministry on November 1, 1971.[105]

No CPI-Cong(R) Accord for Assembly Elections

Unlike in other States, the Congress(R) and the CPI could not arrive at any poll adjustment for the ensuing elections to the Tripura Assembly. The Congress(R) had, therefore, put up candidates for all the 60 Assembly seats, Shri Sukhamoy Sengupta, leader of the Congress(R), said in Agartala on February 11, 1972, that the CPI's increasing demands for seats had caused the failure of the negotiations between the two parties. Earlier, the Congress(R) Central Election Committee had allotted four seats to the CPI.[106]

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102 *The Statesman*, Delhi, and *The Tribune*, February 18, 1972.

103 *Hindustan Times*, February 25, 1972.

104 *Patriot*, January 22, 1972.

105 *Hindustan Times*, January 22, 1972.

106 *The Statesman*, Delhi, February 12, 1972.

UTTAR PRADESH

Vidhan Sabha Hails Free Bangla Desh

The U.P. Vidhan Sabha unanimously passed a resolution on January 3, 1972 hailing the birth of the Bangla Desh Republic and praising the Indian defence forces for winning the war against Pakistan.[107]

Leadership of Opposition Changes Hands

The BKD Leader, Shri Charan Singh, was declared Leader of the opposition in the U.P. Assembly on January 3, 1972, following the acceptance by the Speaker, Shri A. G. Kher, of the resignation submitted by Shri Girdhari Lal (Congress-O) from the post earlier in the day. The Deputy Speaker, Shri Vasudev Singh, informed the House that the strength of the Congress (O) in the House having been reduced to 54, the BKD, with 56 members, was now the largest party in the House.[108]

During the following weeks, the strength of both the Opposition parties, the B.K.D. and the Congress(O), was reduced by defections. However, as the B.K.D. suffered more in the process, it was again relegated to the third position in the House, while the Congress(O) emerged as the second largest party. Consequently, on February 23, 1972, the Congress(O) Leader, Shri Girdharilal, was again appointed the Leader of the Opposition by the Speaker of the Assembly. The respective strengths of the Congress(O) and the B.K.D. on that day being 49 and 46 in a House with an effective strength of 417.[109]

Change of Party Affiliations

Between December 27, 1971 and January 6, 1972, 10 MLAs belonging to the Congress(O) left the party. These included: Shri Shanti Prapanna Shrama, Chief Whip of the Congress(O) Legislature Party, Shri Krishnanand Rai, party General Secretary, and party Treasurer, Shri Rajendra Pratap Singh. Five of the 10 MLAs immediately joined the Congress(R), while two—Shri Krishnanand Rai and Shri Shanti Prapanna Sharma—were admitted to the Congress (R) Legislature Party by the Chief Minister, Shri Kamlapati Tripathi,

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[107]*National Herald*, Lucknow, January 4, 1972.

[108]*Patriot*, January 4, 1972, and *National Herald*, Lucknow, January 4, 1972.

[109]*National Herald*, New Delhi, February 24, 1972.

on January 28, Shri Rajendra Pratap Singh, However, went back to the Congress(O) fold.[110]

Shri Motilal Yadav, who had resigned from the Congress(O) earlier and become an Independent, joined the Congress(R) on January 6, 1972. On January 12, a Jan Sangh MLA, Shri Ram Pyare Shukla also crossed over to the Congress(R). This reduced the J.S. strength in the State Assembly to 40.[111]

There were also some defections from the Congress(O) in the State Legislative Council. One MLC resigned from the party on December 30, 1971. Again, on January 3, 1972, the Chairman of the Council announced in the House that four MLCs had left the Congress(O) and joined the Congress(R).[112]

Assembly Ratifies Constitution (25th Amendment)Bill, 1971

After a six-hour debate, the U.P. Assembly ratified on January 19, 1972 by voice vote the Constitution (25th Amendment) Bill, as passed by Parliament. The motion was supported by all parties except the Jan Sangh, whose leader, Shri M.P. Tripathi "suspected" the motives of the Centre. He warned that taking out the question of acquisition of property from the jurisdiction of courts and curtailment of fundamental rights would lead to dictatorial trends.[113]

Initiating the debate, the Revenue Minister, Shri Udit Narayan Sharma, said that the Bill would facilitate acquisition of property in public interest. The amount payable would be fixed according to law and would not be justiciable.[114]

11*BKD Legislators Quit Party and form New Group*

Nine members of the U.P. Assembly and two members of the Legislative Council resigned from the Bharatiya Kranti Dal on Jan-

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[110]*Statesman,* Delhi, December 28, 1971, January 1 & 6, 1972, *Motherland,* January 6, 1972; *Hindustan Times,* January 7 & 22, 1972; and *National Herlad,* New Delhi, January 29, 1972.

[111]*Hindustan Times,* January 7, 1972, and *Times of India,* New Delhi, January 18, 1972.

[112]*Hindustan Times,* December 31, 1971; *National Herald,* Lucknow, December 31, 1971; and *Times of India,* New Delhi, January 4, 1972.

[113]*Hindustan Times,* January 20, 1972.

[114]*Ibid.*

uary 27, 1972. They formed a new group called the Progressive Socialist Legislature Group.[115]

In a letter addressed to Shri Charan Singh, these legislators stated that since they could no longer support the policies of the party and its leader, they were quitting the party.[116]

State B.K.D. Decides Against Dissolution or Merger

The U.P. unit of the B.K.D. will continue to function, according to a unanimous decision taken at a two-day State party meeting which ended in Lucknow on January 30, 1972. The meeting urged the leadership of the party not to tolerate any talk of merger or dissolution of the Party in future but to treat the matter as "an act of gross indiscipline".[117]

Tendu Leaves Trade Nationalised

The Governor of U.P., on February 24, 1972 promulgated an Ordinance nationalising the distribution and sale of Tendu leaves, used in the manufacture of Bidi, in the State with immediate effect. A State Government Press note said that the Ordinance put an end to the exploitation by private traders and ensured fair deal to both the growers and the labourers besides raising the annual revenues of the State Government from Rs. 48.12 lakhs to an estimated amount of Rs. 88.84 lakhs.[118]

WEST BENGAL

President's Rule Extended

Parliament extended on December 7, 1971, President's Rule in West Bengal for another six months from January 26, 1972. The Lok Sabha adopted a Resolution to this effect moved by the Deputy Home Minister, Shri F. H. Mohsin.[119]

President's Rule was imposed in the State on June 29, 1971 under Article 356 of the Constitution.[120]

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[115]*Motherland*, January 28, 1972; and *Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, January 28, 1972.

[116]*Ibid.*

[117]*The Statesman*, Delhi, January 31, 1972.

[118]*National Herald*, New Delhi, February 25, 1972.

[119]*Hindustan Times*, December 8, 1971.

[120]*Ibid.*

Shri Mohsin told the House that the overall law and order situation had improved considerably since the President's Rule was imposed in the State. The number of political murders had come down.[121]

Poll Alliances and Adjustments

The Congress and the CPI entered, on January 30, 1972, into an alliance, to be known as the "Progressive Democratic Alliance", to fight the ensuing elections to the West Bengal Assembly. In a joint statement, the leaders of the two parties said that they had agreed to the distribution of seats to make the formation of a progressive and stable government possible. Their main task would be to fight the "forces of right reaction left adventurism and disruption"; a detailed programme would soon be drafted.[122]

Another joint front, known as the West Bengal Democratic Alliance, comprising the Congress(O), the Bangla Congress, the SSP and the Indian Awami League, had also come into being and had decided to contest about 150 seats in the ensuing elections to the State Assembly. The first lot of 134 constituencies where the combination would set up candidates was released in Calcutta on February 5, 1972.[123]

On February 6, 1972, leaders of the CPI(M) and six other left democratic parties, *viz.* Socialist Unity Centre (SUC), Revolutionary Socialist Party (R.S.P.), Forward Bloc, Revolutionary Communist Party of India (RCPI), Workers' Party and Biplabi Bangla Congress, announced the formation of a joint front, to be known as the 'Left Front,' to fight the forthcoming Assembly elections in West Bengal. A statement issued by the leaders of the seven parties in Calcutta declared that their parties had "united to defeat the Congress(R) and its allies as also the reactionary and communal forces in the State". Except the R.S.P. and the SUC, the five other parties were constituents of the former United Left Front which had fought the last elections against the Congress(R).[124]

As on February 11, 1972, the last date for filling of nominations in West Bengal, the three main contenders in the field were the Congress(R), the CPI(M)-led Left Front and the Congress(O)-led West Bengal Democratic Alliance. The Congress(R) had put up 237 candidates of its own, leaving 41 of the remaining 43 seats to its ally, the

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[121] *Ibid.*

[122] *The Statesman*, Delhi, January 31, 1972.

[123] *The Statesman*, Calcutta, February 6, 1972.

[124] *The Statesman*, Delhi, February 7, 1972; and *National Herald*, Lucknow, February 8, 1972.

CPI. The Left Front was fielding 264 candidates of whom 221 belonged to the CPI(M), while the Congress(O)-led Alliance was contesting 145 seats. The Muslim League had set up 61 candidates.[125]

Union Territories

DELHI

New Lt. Governor Appointed

Dr. A. N. Jha, Lt. Governor of Delhi, died on January 18, 1972. On the following day, Shri Moreshwar Gajanan Pimputkar, Special Secretary to the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, was sworn in as Acting Lt. Governor of Delhi. Shri Pimputkar will hold the office till the vacancy is filled up.[126]

PONDICHERRY

Speaker's Election Set Aside

The Supreme Court set aside, on December 2, 1971, the election of the Pondicherry Assembly Speaker, Shri S. Perumal (DMK), from the Aryakuppam constituency on the ground that he exceeded the election expenses ceiling. Shri Justice K. S. Hegde allowed an appeal by Shri Purushottam Reddiar, defeated Congress candidate, against the Madras High Court's judgment dismissing his petition challenging Shri Perumal's election on grounds of corrupt practices.[127]

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[125]*The Statesman*, Delhi, February 12, 1972.

[126]*Times of India*, January 19, 1972; and *Hindustan Times*, January 20, 1972.

[127]*Statesman*, Delhi, December 3, 1971.

STATE LEGISLATURES

ANDHRA PRADESH

ANDHRA PRADESH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

The Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly held its session from November 23, 1971 to December 3, 1971. In all, 10 sittings were held.

Legislative Business and Questions

Six Government and one Private Members' Bills were introduced during the session, while 8 Government Bills were passed. The House received 407 notices of Starred Questions of which 264 were admitted as Starred and 98 as Unstarred Questions. Of the 73 notices of Short Notice Questions, only 14 were admitted as such; 36 were admitted as Starred and Unstarred Questions.

Committees

During the three-month period from October to December 1971, the Committees on Estimates, Petitions, Assurances, Subordinate Legislation, Public Accounts, Privileges and Public Undertakings, held 12, 4, 8, 11, 5, 1 and 17 sittings respectively. The Committees on Subordinate Legislation, Public Accounts and Privileges presented 1, 1 and 5 reports respectively.

ANDHRA PRADESH LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

The second part of the Nineteenth session of the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council was held from November 27, 1971 to December 4, 1971. In all, seven sittings were held.

Legislation and Questions

During this period, 8 Government Bills were introduced in the House and passed by it. The total number of notices of Starred, and Short Notice Questions received was 315 and 11 respectively while those admitted numbered 217 and 6 respectively.

Committees

The Committee on Petitions held one sitting during this period and also presented one report. The Committee on Privileges, the Committee on the Working of the Social Welfare Hostels in the State and the Assurances Committee held 2, 14 and 2 sittings respectively but no report was presented by any of these Committees to the House.

Kerala

The Fourth Session of the Fourth Kerala Legislative Assembly commenced on November 24, 1971 and adjourned *sine die* on December 8, 1971. There were altogether nine sittings.

Questions

Out of 1860 notices of questions received from the members, 1091 were admitted. Answers were orally given or laid on the Table for 669 questions. Besides, 4 Short Notice Questions were received, but none was admitted.

Legislative and financial business

Five Government Bills were introduced in the House and all of them were passed.

On December 3, 1971 Shri K. T. George, Finance Minister, presented the Statement of Supplementary Demands for Grants for the year 1971-72.

On December 6, 1971 the Assembly voted Supplementary Grants amounting to Rs. 1,64,50,300 in the Budget for the year 1971-72. 26 members took part in the discussion lasting for 1 hour and 56 minutes.

Government Resolution on Pakistani Aggression

On December 6, 1971 Shri C. Achutha Menon, Chief Minister moved the following resolution:—

> "In this hour of crisis, when our country is faced with aggression from Pakistan, this House expresses its solidarity with fighting forces who are defending our soil and calls upon the people of the State along with the people of the whole country to be ready for any sacrifice for the defence of our country, its integrity and solidarity without distinction of caste, religion or political creed".

After discussion and reply by the Chief Minister the resolution was unanimously adopted.

No-confidence Motion

On November 26, 1971, the House granted leave to Shri John Manjooran to make the following motion:—

> "This House expresses no-confidence in the Council of Ministers headed by Shri C. Achutha Menon."

The motion was discussed on December 1 and 2, 1971. After discussion the motion was put to vote and declared lost.

Committees

The Rules Committee, the Committee on Subordinate Legislation, the Committee on Estimates and the Committee on Public Undertakings held 1, 5, 5 and 8 sittings respectively but no reports were presented by them to the House. The Business Advisory Committee, the Committee on Public Accounts and the Committee on Privileges held 2, 12 and 3 sittings respectively and presented 2, 1 and 2 reports respectively.

Rajasthan

The Rajasthan Legislative Assembly commenced its Eleventh Session from November 10, 1971 and adjourned on November 16, 1971. The total number of sittings of the Assembly was six.

Election of the Deputy Speaker

As a result of the vacancy caused by the resignation of Shri Poonam Chand Vishnoi from the office of Deputy Speaker, Shri Ram Narain Chawdhury, M.L.A., was unanimously elected as Deputy Speaker on November 11, 1971.

Questions

The House received 808, 144 and 2 notices of Starred, Unstarred and Short Notice Questions respectively while the number of those admitted for answer was 374, 129 and 1 respectively.

Legislation

The House passed two Bills during the session.

Committees

The Committees on Privileges, Government Assurances, Public Undertakings, Public Accounts, Estimates and Subordinate Legislation, held on 14, 23, 25, 29, 21 and 29 sittings respectively. The Committees on Privileges, Public Undertakings, Public Accounts, Subordinate Legislation and Petitions presented 2, 5, 1, 2 and 1 reports respectively. Besides these, the Sub-Committee on Parliamentary Conventions and the House Committee held 4 and 8 sittings respectively.

No-Confidence Motion against the Council of Ministers

On November 15, 1971, an Independent Member, Shri Manohar Singh Mehta moved a no-confidence motion against the Council of Ministers as follows:—

> "This House expresses its lack of confidence in the present Council of Ministers in Rajasthan"*

Debate on this motion took place for one day, *i.e.*, on November 16, 1971, in which 17 members participated. On behalf of the Government, the Chief Minister, Shri Barkatullah Khan replied to the debate.

The no-confidence motion was rejected by voice vote.

Consideration of the Eighteenth Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1968-69

Debate on the following motion moved by Shri Bheekhabhai, Minister of Social Welfare, took place in the House on November 11, 1971, in which 19 Members took part :—

> "That the Eighteenth Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1968-69, which was laid on the Table of the House on the 3rd November, 1970, in so far as it relates to Rajasthan, be taken into consideration."*

The Minister of Social Welfare, Shri Bheekhabhai replied to the debate.

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*Original in Hindi.

Consideration of the budget of the Rajasthan State Electricity Board for 1971-72.

The following motion moved by Shri Shivcharan Mathur, Minister of Power on November 15, 1971 was discussed in the House and 22 Members took part in the debate:—

> "That the Annual Financial Statement (Budget) of the Rajasthan State Electricity Board, for the year 1971-72 laid on the Table of the House on May 24, 1971, be taken into consideration."*

Shri Shivcharan Mathur, Minister of Power replied to the debate.

Discussion on matters relating to Universities in Rajasthan

The following motion moved by Shri Surendra Prasad, M.L.A., on November 13, 1971 was discussed in the House and 9 Members took part in the debate :—

> "That the matters relating to the Universities in Rajasthan be taken into consideration."*

Shri Poonam Chand Vishnoi, Minister of Education replied to the debate on behalf of the State Government.

Consideration of the Statement made by the Chief Minister

A Statement was made by the Chief Minister, Shri Barkatullah Khan in the House on the tense situation on Rajasthan-Pakistan borders on November 12, 1971, which was discussed on the same day in the House; 13 Members took part in the debate:

The Chief Minister replied to the debate.

Tamil Nadu

The Third session of the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly was held in two spells of sittings from October 21 to 25, 1971 and again from December 4 to 18, 1971.

Legislation and Questions

During this session, 16 Government Bills and 5 Private Members' Bills were introduced. The House passed 16 Government Bills.

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*Original in Hindi.

The House received 1538 notices of Starred Questions and 23 Short Notice Questions. Of the former, 676 were admitted as Starred and 85 as Unstarred Questions. Only 4 Short Notice Questions were admitted.

Resolution Condemning Pakistan's attack on India

The Assembly adopted the following resolution on December 6, 1971.

"This House, on behalf of the people of Tamil Nadu, strongly condemns the action of the Pakistan's Dictator, who not only refused to respect the democratic verdict of the people of East Bengal but also unleashed military action against lakhs of people who raised their voice as one against the suppressive action of the military regime of West Pakistan. The autocratic military regime of Pakistan slaughtered lakhs of East Bengalis for their patriotic fervour and call for an independent Bangla Desh. The Military Dictator by his brutal genocide has forced one crore of people to flee to India, as refugees to save their lives. By this, the Pakistan Dictator has made an indirect attack against India and now launched a full scale war against the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Indian Nation. The House resolves that it shall offer all co-operation to the Government of India to inflict a crushing defeat on the enemy and to achieve a glorious victory.

This House feels pround to compliment the gallant sons of this soil for their heroic deeds in the battle field.

This House affirms, in order to defeat the enemy, the need on the part of the people of India to sink their political, religious and caste differences and stand united, realising that the capacity to defeat the external enemy emerges only in an atmosphere free from internal dissensions.

This House declares that in the war which the dictatorship has launched against the higher principles of Democracy, final victory will be that of the Democracy which India cherishes.

From the beginning, India has made it clear to all the nations of the world about the inhuman attitude of Pakistan and has obtained the support of many of them who believe in

justice and fairplay. This House conveys its gratitude to those nations who have come forward to support us.

This House appeals to the people of Tamil Nadu to offer their unstinted co-operation to this State Government to stand by the decisions and actions of the Prime Minister of India and to offer aid in the form of men, materials and equipments needed for the war efforts so that the Indian Armed Forces will have the necessary zeal and determination to vanquish the enemy and emerge victorious."

Resolution to Congratulate Bangla Desh

On December 17, 1971, the Assembly passed the following resolution:—

"This House expresses its approbation and felicitation to the birth of Free Bangla Desh after the successful conclusion of the freedom struggle of Bangla Desh.

This House congratulates Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, for having supported the freedom struggle of Bangla Desh on humanitarian considerations and for having taught a fitting lesson to the war-phobia of Pakistan. ....

This House pays its homage to the Indian jawans and the heroes of the *Mukti Bahini* of Bangla Desh, who have sacrificed their lives and withstood untold miseries in this War of Martyrdom.

This House urges all the Nations of the world to make an earnest endeavour for securing the immediate release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the hero of the new Nation of Bangla Desh.

This House condemns the action of countries like the U.S.A. which have not co-operated with India in this Freedom Struggle but support Pakistan against the interests of India and also expresses its heartfelt gratitude to countries like the U.S.S.R., which have stood by India in her hour of need."

Committees

During the three-month period from October to December 1971, the Committee on Estimates met on 28 days while the Committee on Government Assurances, House Committee and the Committee on Rules held 3, 1 and 1 sittings respectively. One Report of the Committee on Rules was placed on the Table of the House.

ASIAN DEVELOPMENT: PROBLEMS AND PROGNOSIS by *John Badgley, New York*, 1971

For several years there have flown from the United States a spate of books on different aspects of the life and problems of the underdeveloped countries of the world. This largesse, sometimes rather overwhelming, is not entirely unmotivated. It is not just an accident that academics in the United States, reinforced in number by malleable recruits from the underdeveloped countries themselves, have suddenly developed a tremendous curiosity about the benighted regions of the world—to which India belongs. The fact is that countries like ours can no longer be ignored and kept in leash at the same time the old posture of the metropolitan countries keeping us planfully in the condition, so to speak, of an agrarian hinterland is no longer possible, and academic activity in countries that in the olden days simply overlooked our existence has to be geared to the new needs of those who are in power in countries such as the United States.

In spite of a considerable volume of material the author has collected, and in spite of a certain propensity towards facile philosophising in a harmless fashion—or perhaps because of it—the book under review leaves one with a sense of irritation. It begins with a salutary warning that Vietnam has affirmed the impossibility of American actions commanding the kind of change which should occur today. But in its discussion of the "future Asian milieu", it plunges into an apparently profound but in reality pompous and unrewarding discussion of the state of things not only in South East Asia, Korea, and Taiwan, but also in countries like India. The note of patronage which filters through a great deal of sanctimoniousness is quite often vexing.

India, happily, is only briefly touched upon but not very accurately either. At page 158, it is stated that "the future of any India-wide party is indeed dim. Bengalis support the Communist Party (Marxist) or the Bangla Congress; Orissa supports the Ganatantra Party, as do several other States; and the Samyukta Socialist Party has Hindu support in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh." The author discovers "the potential for disintegration" to be "great in India with its huge minority populations" and anticipates that if economic difficulties increase, "India may collapse, leaving the smaller but possibly more politically viable

communal States to pursue their own foreign policies and attempt to master their own fates." (p. 158). It is, indeed, quite a mouthful of *obiter dicta!*

More carefully analysing countries of South-East Asia as well as Korea and Taiwan, the author finds the concept of nation-State no longer valid either in fact or in aspiration. He pins his faith in the future on civic polities like Singapore or of small "pluralistic" groupings based on local links and loyalties. And since, in these benighted areas of the world American aid in the form of technology and finance and expertise must be a *sine qua non*, he wishes attention of the affluent powers to be drawn less to the idea of assisting national units being formed and fostered than to smaller, more compact, regional categories where the peoples participation could be more meaningful.

Evidently, the author is groping towards a certain fundamental rethinking, but one fears the articulation (and evidence for it) leaves a lot to be desired. It seems also a tragic error if the creative potentialities of the national liberation idea which is valid enough in our part of the world are underrated and even wished away in the manner of the author.

—H. N. MUKERJEE, M.P.

THE MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT AND HIS INFORMATION by Anthony Barker and Michael Rusk, P.E.P. Study of Parliament Group. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. Ruskin House, Museum Street, London, 1970.

As the popular saying goes, 'Democracy is a government of the people, by the people and for the people'. The will of the people is reflected through their representatives in the Parliament through a general election based on adult franchise. This system of parliamentary form of government does have its inherent strength and weaknesses and none the less it has withstood not only the test of time but also challenges of war and peace.

The success of democracy depends as much on the awareness of the citizens as on the vigilance, responsiveness and organizational ability of the representatives *i.e.* the Members of Parliament. It is through the representatives, *i.e.* the Members of Parliament that the people express their aspirations and hopes. Therefore, naturally, the Members of Parliament are the only real link between the people on the one side and ideals and ideology on the other side.

Anthony Barker, Lecturer in Government, University of Essex and Michael Rush, Lecturer in Politics, University of Exeter have interviewed a representative group of over a hundred M.Ps., some of them ex-ministers and the results of the survey have formed the basis of the present book, "THE MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT AND HIS INFORMATION". Such a study is necessary to have a closer look at the real working of the parliamentary system because it is not only its institutionalized form but also the men who are responsible for the working of the Institution who really happen to be the cornerstone of the system. Such a study is also profitable in the sense that it could be one of the important factors in evaluating the present state of parliamentary system and also its future.

The book under review is divided in seven chapters. The first chapter—Introduction—besides other things also points out the limitations of the book. "This is a book about British Members of Parliament and their work". I believe that a book of this size could have also surveyed and studied some other Parliaments also because the parliamentary system in other countries is not a carbon copy of the British Parliamentary system.

The second chapter explains how M.Ps. use mass media, what is the postbags of the Members and a few related things. The writers have also analysed the reading literature, including journals, magazines and newspapers generally used by the M.Ps. Naturally, the Members are more inclined to use such mass media organs liberally which reflect their party's point or which gets them data to be used in parliamentary debates or parliamentary committees or otherwise.

The third chapter analyses the Member's view of Parliament. The writers are of the view that "In common with all other interested observers of public affairs, M.Ps. rely to a considerable extent on official information emanating from the Government and also on material which is published by Parliament". The use of material provided by the Government needs some home work. The Members with such a background and training naturally fare better than those who have none. None-the-less for the better functioning of Parliament, it is important that the Members should be supplied with relevant reading material and data by the Government and the Parliament's own secretariat to the maximum extent. For Parliaments in developing countries, it may even be necessary to provide material in 'digest' form so that even the back benchers among the back benchers may be able to contribute in a more fruitful manner.

The fourth chapter is of a special interest which explains Member's view of his constituency. In a representative system it is not only enough that a Member functions well in Parliament but it is also necessary that he is able to fulfil the expectations of his constituents. Naturally the postbags of the Members from his constituency include a variety of things—ranging from transfers and postings and appointments to policy issues of national importance. The writers have rightly said that for successful functioning the local party unit's healthy functioning is very important. For various reasons we in India here have to organize our local party units not only on somewhat different pattern than those in Britain but also in a more comprehensive manner so that fast changing moods of the people are genuinely reflected.

The fifth chapter explains the Member's view of his party. As is well-known a Member of Parliament is nominated or elected on a party ticket and he behaves as a party man in the Parliament. Therefore, a Member is both a representative of his constituents and also a spokesman of his party. The party educates its Member and keeps him informed on important issues and the Member on the other end works for the success of his party's programmes and policies. It is through such a functioning that parliamentary government is a majority government as expressed through general election. The writers are of the view that the Labour Members appear hostile to, or at least separated from their Party's research arrangements but on the Conservative side their opinions are somewhat much more favourable. It may be because the Conservative Party had longer experience of running a government and a party office and also is better financially of. But it cannot be denied, the Party headquarter has to be well-equipped to meet the needs of its members which includes Members of Parliament.

The sixth chapter is important in the sense that it examines the facilities available to the Members of Parliament within the Parliament itself which includes Parliament's library, Parliament's research assistance section, working of the Select Committee and Parliamentary information system.

The writers have concluded that "how easily that brake may be released will be a function of how strongly Members are willing to press the Leader of the House and the Government generally to accord a higher priority to parliamentary information services". It is heartening to note that the Parliament of India is going to have a new building for housing the Parliament's library and other related sections. Still there is a room to improve parliamentary information and research services made available to our Members of Parliament.

In the last chapter the writers have further said that "Members overwhelmingly believe that their colleagues feel inadequately informed on Government affairs—and few thought themselves any better off", and also "most M.Ps. combine their duties with an outside job of some kind, which may offer advantages to the House but which does constrict the development of a more elaborate committee system or other devices for encouraging Members to adopt a more active role". Both the observations are important. Any given opportunity or facility can be misused but that does not mean that such opportunities should be denied on that pretext.

On the whole the book under review has ably analysed the important role of information in the functioning of Parliament. Well informed Members of Parliament mean a higher level of functioning which in turn helps the Government not only to function more efficiently but also on a higher level. Such a functioning also provides a flowering ground for the training of 'would be' Ministers.

—KRISHNA KANT, M.P.

REFORM OF BRITISH CENTRAL GOVERNMENT: by James Robertson Chatto and Windus, London, 1971.

This book is a volume in a Reform Series. One of them has already been reviewed in these pages—"Reform of the Constitution" by O. Hood Phillips. This seems to be a sequel as it deals with the reform of one limb of the Constitution. And the author is one worth listening to. For he comes to this work with a first in Oxford Greats which has gone to the general education of many an English statesman and administrator, experience of public administration in the Colonial Office and the Ministry of Defence and in business administration in a Computor Consultant's firm.

Using the language of Business Administration the author traces the history of "H.M.G. Enterprises" from the time when a Chairman and Chief Executive called Gladstone consolidated the business in its modern form and then through the rest of the 19th and 20th centuries till the end of World War II during which period "successive Boards of Directors were constantly having bright ideas about what new products to put on the market, and how to make them, and how to cure the breakdowns. But as they had no long-term marketing strategy and as they did not recognise the need to re-plan and redesign the production line for the new products, improvisation was the order of the day". The machinery underwent almost continual modification,

sometimes new attachments were made to existing machines, sometimes two or more machines would be added, from time to time an entirely new machine would be brought into the production line. The result of all this piece-meal modification was that different parts of a machine tended to clash with one another. The need was at last felt that there must be an effort to think out closely a plan for the improvement of the British Government as a whole. The Conservative Government in Office from 1951 to 1964 failed to recognise this. The Labour Government of 1964—1970 recognised that reform was necessary but misconcieved the nature of the problem. This was partly because they saw it through the eyes of the economists and partly because they saw it in turns of a crusade against the Establishment rather than as a question of how to make more effective the decision-making apparatus. And so Mr. Wilson the Prime Minister of the Labour Government reformed the Central Administration by adding more ministries like the Ministry of Economic Affairs and the Ministry of Technology.

When the Conservative Government came into power in 1970 they issued a White Paper on the reorganisation of the Central Government. The principles of this reform were to be:

(i) To improve the quality of policy formulation and decision-taking in government by presenting Ministers, collectively in Cabinet and individually within their departments, with well-defined options, costed where possible, and relating the choice between options to the contributions they can make to meeting national needs. This is not confined to new policies and new decisions, but implies also the continuing examination, on a systematic and critical basis, of the existing activities of government.

(ii) To improve the framework within which public policy is formulated by matching the field of responsibility of government departments to coherent fields of policy and administration.

(iii) To ensure that the government machine responds and adapts itself to new policies and programmes as these emerge, within the broad framework of the main departmental fields of responsibility.

The measures taken to achieve these aims include:

(a) the unification in a smaller number of larger Departments of functions previously carried out in a larger number of smaller ones;

(b) the improvement of the organisation and procedures for enabling the Cabinet to take collective policy decisions, by the creation of a Central Policy Review Staff (Lord Rothschild's think-tank) in the Cabinet office; and also by instituting regular, systematic reviews of the objectives of government activity under the procedure now known as Programmes Analysis and Review.

In actual fact Mr. Heath has created 2 huge departments, the Ministry of Trade and Industry absorbing Labour's Ministry of Technology and the old Board of Trade and the Department of Environment including Transport, Building, Housing and Local Government and has pushed the Department of Overseas Trade, a Commercial department kind, which may offer advantages to the House but which does comment, into the Foreign office. Only time can tell whether this re-grouping of departments can lead to administrative efficiency. But the greatest innovation of Mr. Heath is the new Cabinet Office which is to act as a braintrust for the Government enabling the Prime Minister in whose charge it is to prod Ministers "to consider the totality of their current policies in relation to their longer term objectives" and to pay more attention to the difficult but crucial task of evaluating as objectively as possible the alternative policy options and priorities open to them. Another great innovation of Mr. Heath is the team of businessmen based in the Civil Service Department recommended by the Fulton Commission and already adopted by the Labour Government to help in developing a system for regular reviews of the objectives of Government expenditure. This Cabinet Office therefore, with its new organization will take the place of the old Treasury which despite all its eagerness to save expenditure has not been able to control government expenditure in ways that would cause disruption of established procedures with a view to greater efficiency. So far for Mr. Heath's administrative reforms.

As for Mr. Robertson's own ideas beside the approval of Mr. Heath's reforms he would connect administrative reform with a change in the general outlook on political life. He would like a combination of socialism and free-enterprise. He would insist on accountability of Trade Unions like the accountablity of Civil Servants, businessmen

and doctors and scientists. He would like administrative reform to be part of the whole reform of the Constitution, the Judiciary and the Legislature through committees of Parliament exercising a continuous probe into the work of administrative departments. He would like all reform whether of the administration or of the legislature or of the judiciary to be governed by the principle of self-government made as real as effective and as direct as possible.

Altogether Mr. Robertson's book is worth reading by all those interested in the improvement of our administration and general government not only for its account of the latest administrative reforms in England but for his original ideas and suggestions.

—M. RUTHNASWAMY, M.P.

THE UNITED NATIONS IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS by Leon Gordenker (Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1971)

This book a collection of essays written by six authors all of whom are associated with the Centre of International Studies at Princeton University, U.S.A. In these essays, they re-examine the United Nations' role and work in the world today and try to anticipate its future. Each author states his ideas about the present nature of the United Nations and the relationship it bears to the broader framework of world politics.

United Nations and the International System

In the first essay, Oran R. Young traces the relationship of the United Nations with the larger international system. According to him, the functions and activities of the United Nations are moulded by the basic dimensions and dynamic processes of the international system, but the United Nations is itself an actor in the system and is sometimes able to influence its environment significantly. Throughout its history, the impact of the systemic environment on the Organisation has far surpassed the impact of the Organisation on the system. Nevertheless, the influence of the United Nations on world politics should not be underestimated, especially in its more subtle and intangible forms.

Nature and Quality of Conflicts in International System

The constant presence of change, prevasive but somewhat indeterminate with respect to overall pattern or direction, constitutes a fundamental aspect of the international milieu in which the United Nations operates at present. The resultant fluidity of the international system shapes the activities of the Organisation in a number of significant ways.

The constant pressures of change tend to impose an inchoateness on the United Nations. Though this is not necessarily a signal of dec-

line in the overall significance of the UN in world politics, it does tend to preclude orderly, long-term processes of institution building.

At the same time, the current fluidity of the international system has produced more substantive developments affecting UN operations. In the first place, the present period is witnessing important trends in the nature or quality of conflict in the international system. The United Nations was originally predicated, to a considerable degree, on the expectation that the principal threats to peace and security in world politics would stem from relatively clear-out cases of inter-State conflict involving the use of overt force across international boundaries. International realities, however, have shifted increasingly away from this expectation in recent years along several different channels.

The problem arising from these changes are heightened even further by the fact that many of the most important cases of international conflict in the current period are actually complex amalgams with elements of civil strife and elements of external (and frequently competitive) intervention. In conflicts of this kind (Vietnam or Yemen) the weigth of multiple cross-pressures tends to make the UN position inflexible. As a result the capacity of the United Nations to intervene successfully in at least some of the most dangerous conflicts of the current era in terms of any of its major roles, is apt to be negligible.

Geographical Distribution of Conflicts

A second problem stems from the fact that the geographical distribution of major conflicts in world politics has been shifting in such a way as to create difficulties for the United Nations in its efforts to carve out meaningful roles in the international system. In effect, the shift with respect to serious threats to international peace and security has been characterized by movement in a southeasterly direction. The most dangerous areas in terms of international stability are now Africa and Asia, both areas in which there are substantial barriers to efficacious United Nations activities.

North-South Axis—a New Determinant of UN Activities

Third, in somewhat broader terms, a significant shift of the underlying axes of political contention in the international system has been

growing since the sixties. And these changes are reflected quite clearly in the activities of the United Nations even though the fact that they are still in a stage of "becoming" means that many elements of ambiguity and contradiction are currently evident in the operations of the Organisation. A decline in the dominance of the East-West axis of world politics coupled with the growth of a meaningful North-South axis is clearly becoming an influential determinant of UN activities. In a related fashion problems arising from racial inequalities are being pressed with increasing virulence and impatience through the United Nations. But above all the Organisation is rapidly becoming one of the focal points in the emerging North-South contention arising from problems of nation building, economic welfare, and, in general, the redistribution of economic and political values in the international system.

By the same token, however, these shifts in the underlying axis of international politics are producing interesting changes in great-power diplomacy that are beginning to affect UN operations. The decline of bipolarity and the rise of polycentrism within the principal blocs is producing a political environment with new elements of fluidity. Furthermore, the decline of bipolarity and the growing awareness on the part of the superpowers of important overlapping interests is now opening up possibilities for regulatory activities on the part of the United Nations even in the realm of great-power problems. While the dangers of great power confrontations have by no means disappeared, the fact that the super powers are increasingly anxious to prevent mutually disadvantageous outcomes places the United Nations in a new position *vis-a-vis* these powers.

Perhaps most importatn of all for the UN, however, is the fact that shifts in the underlying axes of world politics are now beginning to create at least a limited interest on the part of the super-powers in utilizing the Organization to pursue some of their overlapping interests.

The second essay by Stanley J. Michalak deals with the differences and likenesses of the League of Nations and the U.N.

Analysis of United Nations' Resolutions

Gabriella Lande describes in the third essay how member governments respond to the recommendations of the General Assembly.

Analysing the results of twenty-nine Resolutions adopted by the Assembly which were intended to help maintain international peace she observes that the successful operation of the General Assembly seems to be a function of Member States' cooperation in respecting Assembly decisions. But the indication that the implementation and effectiveness of resolutions are so emphatically correlated likewise suggests that the collective judgment of the world forum in dealing with the problems before it is for the most part responsible and wise. Contrary to the opinion of many, collective judgment does seem to be a suitable mechanism for international problem-solving. Since Member States in the United Nations system represent both subject and organ, the cooperative process between the Organization and its Members is mutually dependent and mutually reinforcing—that is, the character and action of the UN surely bear a direct relation to cooperation among its Members, but the Organization itself heightens their cooperation in various ways and affects their behaviour.

Since the United Nations has exhibited a dynamic quality responsive to changes in the international scene and to the changing attitudes and purposes of its Members, one might expect not only that its decisions will mirror these changes, but also that their effect will vary with the years and with changes in the state of the outside world. A dissection of various time periods, however, does not indicate that one period of the General Assembly's work has proved substantially more fruitful than another. The General Assembly has, however, achieved its purpose somewhat more frequently in cases involving military action that in those where there was no such action. The probability of compliance with a resolution in the former instance is 60 per cent; in the latter instance, 44 per cent: Member States are more often than not willing to abide by the decisions of the world forum when the issue is beset with armed conflict.

Another surprising supposition supported by the data is that prior disagreement by the great powers in the Security Council on a desirable course of action seems to have a positive effect on its ultimate upshot: when disagreement on an issue has been recorded in the Council, the probability of implementation of an Assembly resolution on that issue is somewhat higher than when no appreciable prior friction has existed.

United Nations' Response to Internal Conflicts

Linda Miller discusses in the fourth essay the role of international organisations in managing conflicts that spill over from within a State into the international area. International organisations in the 1970s, as in the previous two decades, are apt to be poorly equipped to meet the challenges of persistent internal conflicts in the modernizing areas. While the coincident interest of global and regional organizations will remain the maximization of diplomatic or other pressures that will dissuade the super-powers and Smaller revisionist powers from a cycle of counterinterventions, this task could be facilitated if national policy-makers, preoccupied with their own domestic problems, exercise greater self-restraint in reacting to outbreaks of civil strife beyond their borders.

Social and Political Influence of United Nations' Programmes

The fifth article, written by Leon Gordenker is a consideration of the way UN programmes influence social and political change in Member States. The author discusses UN economic aid and its effect on the policies of the member governments.

In the final chapter, Richard Falk, giving an evaluative perception of the United Nations, suggests a set of alternative models that may characterize the role of the United Nations in the future.

AGRICULTURAL PLANNING FOR 700 MILLONS : A PERSPECTIVE STUDY by P. C. Bansil (Lalvani Publishing House, Bombay, 1971)

This book contains a detailed study of the future agricultural planning in India and for the purpose of the study, it is assumed that the population of India would be in the neighbourhood of 700 million between 1980 and 1985. The first part of the book entitled 'Demand Projections' gives targets for major agricultural commodities like the various food items, cotton, jute, oilseeds, coconut, tea, coffee and rubber. The second part entitled 'Supply Projections' examines the possibilities of achieving the targets with the available as well as potential resources.

Growth rate

It should be quite within the reach of the country not only to

have narrow self-sufficiency at a reasonable standard of living but also some exportable surplus from the agricultural sector, within the next 15—20 years.

This may sound odd when judged against the country's past performance. Over the 15 years, 1949-50 to 1964-65, agricultural production increased at a little over 3 per cent per annum. Allowing for an increase in areas under crops, agricultural productivity went up by a little over 1.5 per cent only.

But the country has to learn from the mistakes of the past and attempt to correct them. There were some peculiar disadvantages during the Third Plan period: the Chinese attack in 1962, which necessitated the diversion of resources from development to defence; the conflict with Pakistan and the consequent pause in aid; and the most recent blow—the unprecedented drought which had affected a very wide area of the country.

There is, however, no reason to be pessimistic because of the past experience. Growth of agriculture in India during the past 10—12 years has been quite comparable with a number of other countries in South East Asia. Even otherwise it has to be borne in mind that production at the end of the targeted period will depend not on the technology of 1950 or even 1965, but the one being evolved during the coming two decades.

Importance of organisation and motivation

What is needed is that cultivators should adopt effectively improved practices (most of them already known and others being evolved), that they work harder and use their time more effectively. With the Indian cultivators as shrewd and pragmatic in his approach to the soil as his counterpart elsewhere and the soil equally fertile, the problem is to convey the idea of improved practices to him in meaningful terms to facilitate his access to better practices and to give him the incentive to produce more. These are primarily organisational and motivational problems.

Administrative machinery will have to be streamlined. There are evidences of black marketing in the supply and distribution of items like fertilisers. Arrangements will have to be made not only to increase the supply of various inputs but also to remove the existing obstacles in the distribution line.

As for motivations, pure and simple 'self-interest' should normally be a sufficient incentive for the Indian cultivator. The difficulty in agriculture could well be summarised as a failure to harness fully the farmers' self-interest to the task of supplying the food and fibre requirements of the country.

Future development of agriculture therefore, rests on eliminating the organisational bottlenecks. Since the development of agriculture is 'a must' there is no way out but to streamline the administrative machinery. Local initiative and local co-operation will also be necessary to surmount the organisational difficulties.

Human Problem

In order that full benefits are derived from the technological changes, the farmers' own apprehension will have to be made through education interpreted in a wider sense. Any programme can become the farming community's own programme only when the farmer himself decides in favour of it. This demands improvement of his capacity in decision-making. It is then alone that the programme will take root and will not be looked at as an imposition by officials. In spite of the recognition of the benefits which would accrue from community development, a serious view has not been taken either to expand or improve this organisation.

Input factors like water, manure, seed, pesticides, machinery, etc., are no doubt most important in the programme of agricultural development. But that alone is not sufficient. The cultivator has at his disposal limited resources in the form of land, labour, capital and management. Resource allocation is a big problem in itself and will depend upon the goals set before the cultivator. He must be made capable of utilising these resources most efficiently. This emphasises the management aspects of farming in respect of most efficient use of the resources, taking fully into account the developments around the farm.

A manifestation of this approach to the development of agriculture is to be seen in the intensive development programme popularly known as the 'package programme'. This was started on a pilot basis in 1961. By the end of 1964-65, the programme had covered 280 blocks in 16 districts. In terms of cultivated area, it amounted to 2.9 million hectares. The programme which was originally restricted to food grains is being extended to cash crops as well.

Price Policy

A stable price level will always create a most congenial situation for the growth of an economy. Wide fluctuations in agricultural prices over time and space have thus got to be checked. But a more important problem will be the stability of the price structure as between various agricultural commodities. Wherever technological possibilities exist, there is already a severe competition between cash and food crops—jute and rice is one glaring example. Future price policy will have to be formulated on a comprehensive and continuing basis. *Ad hoc* measures to meet the exigencies of the situation, as in the past, would always suffer from the element of time lag and will fail in the timely redress of the situation. Fixation of a minimum and maximum price for a few commodities without establishing a price parity among competing crops may only result in unbalanced production of each of them.

With due consideration to the targets fixed and tentative allocations made for area needed for different crops, if it is found that a diversion of the area is called for from one to another, the price policy will have to be orientated in a way that the desired shift takes place. Before taking any steps in this direction, it would be necessary to undertake detailed studies about the cost structure, minimum fair prices and the relative parity prices. Along with this, a definite assurance will have to be given to the cultivators of various crops for the purchase of their produce at the predetermined prices, announced much in advance of the sowing period. As for the commodities entering the export market, some sort of minimum export quotas can be declared for a long period on the basis of the past experience and the trend of the world market. This would do away with adverse fluctuations in the market which at present are significantly related to variations in the export policy of the nation. Additional releases can then be made on suitable occasions as dictated by the situation of each commodity in the internal and external markets.

A fillip to agricultural production in general can be given only if the price policy aims at increasing the efficiency of the cultivator. In the context of Indian agriculture, it would mean the provision of fertilisers|manures, improved seeds, cement for the construction of irrigation wells, iron for implements, diesel oil for pumps, etc., at prices which maintain a reasonable parity between the prices paid and received by the cultivator.

In a long-term development of agriculture, the production in adequate quantities of non-food crops for industrial use and for earning foreign exchange is equally important. In the interest of national health, national diet has to be more varied and balanced. This means increasing emphasis on the production of protective foods drawn mainly from fish and livestock, e.g. milk, eggs and meat and also from fruits and vegetables. This group of farm products being perishable, presents special problems and more than fixation of statutory prices, measures such as marketing facilities, bulk handling and arrangement for sale on a fixed price basis through cooperative or State organisations, etc. are likely to prove successful in increasing production.

Though a sound price policy is one of the essentials in a planned development of agriculture, to meet the food requirements of the people, to ensure a balanced diet, to produce raw materials for industries and to earn foreign exchange, price alone cannot tackle all the farm problems. This has to be one of the links in the whole chain, other links being technical knowledge, intensive cultivation, irrigation, effective extension of education, agrarian reforms, credit, co-operation, etc.

Marketable Surplus

Production is "one end" of the food problem in India, the other being distribution, making it available at the places and at the time it is needed.

The existing distribution machinery which is primarily in the hands of private traders is already being subtituted by marketing co-operatives so as to permit maximum price incentive to the farmer. Once the market has been appropriately conditioned by allowing a free play of pricing and distribution, long term outlook for food distribution would possibly brighten up.

Since agricultural prices or for that matter general price level is determined by the volume of marketable surplus, i.e. surplus of the agriculture sector which is exchanged with non-agriculture commodities, if there is failure to mobilise the agricultural surplus, the resultant distorted price structure will shatter the planned growth and development of not only agriculture, but of the whole economy.

Additional surplus resources will have to be mopped up by more taxes, rural savings, direct investment outlays and inducement to farmers to make cash consumption purchases away from the farm. Whatever additional taxes can be levied and collected under the

existing political situation would be most welcome to all those who are up against the task of finding resources for the implementation of Plans. But in a voluntary development effort, taxation beyond a certain limit may not be possible. Compulsory procurement of food-grains may also not fit in and may be rather difficult in the context of democratic planning as well as free economy.

The only alternative left would then be the inducement to the cultivator for making purchases of non-farm goods and services. Favourable terms of trade for agricultural produce will be another positive step for the purpose.

Overall perspective:

There is nothing to be pessimistic about the period beyond 1980-85 in so far as the role of agriculture in the economic development of the country is concerned. With the achievement of the targets envisaged, the country will still be far behind some of the progressive countries in the world. The targeted yield levels have actually been already obtained by enterprising cultivators on their individual fields in the various parts of the country. In the circumstances, there is full justification for assuming that it would be possible for India to raise the level of agricultural production still higher in the coming years.

THE PUBLIC SECTOR IN INDIA by S. L. Jaiswal S. Chand & Co. Ltd., New Delhi, 1971.

This is a comprehensive reference work on public sector enterprises in the country. Besides providing detailed factual information about 91 of the public sector enterprises, the book gives an evaluation of their perforamance also.

The book seeks to dispel the notion prevalent in certain quarters that maximum profits alone should be the yardstick of measuring the success of public undertakings. While the theory of profit may hold good for private industry, but the concept on which the public sector enterprises have been founded is entirely different. The public sector has come up for playing a vital role in strengthening the national economy by generating social gains.

It is also not correct to compare the total public sector undertakings with the best industries in the private sector. There are hundreds of sick industries in the private sector too and there are some sick industries in the public sector also. But there are many industries in the

public sector which are doing very well and one cannot just shut a blind eye to this fact.

Maximum profit main objective of Private entrepreneur

For a private industrialist, maximum profit is the only criterion of the successful operation of his industry. He would refuse to undertake any venture in which steady flow of maximum profit is not assured. He looks at his individual gain and not at the total gain accruing to the society and the country. As against this phenomenon, public sector industries have been started with an entirely different objective of 'socialistic approach' where investment decisions are based not on narrow considerations of maximum profit but the total of all incomes that accrue to the society.

Objective of Public Sector Enterprises

In many fields such as steel, oil, fertilizers, medicines, mining, irrigation and power projects, aeronautics, etc. industries had to be started in the public sector because, due to various factors, these enterprises were expected to earn very low profits, or even incur losses. Private entrepreneurs whose sole criterion of running a business was profit would not care to start such enterprises. At the same time, in the larger interest of the country's economy it was absolutely necessary for the Government to start such enterprises in the public sector irrespective of the consideration of low profits or losses. The performance of an enterprise in the public sector cannot, therefore, be judged by what it earns in the form of profits but by total addition it makes to the flow of goods and services in the economy as measured by gross national product. It is the total value of sales of the enterprise and not its profits that should be taken as a measure of its contribution to the well-being and progress of the society. Hindustan Steel Ltd. has, for example, sustained heavy losses in the earlier years but it is also true that the company has produced 25 million tons of steel worth Rs. 1,400 crores which but for the public sector enterprise would have been imported from abroad. The great set-back which the Indian economy would have suffered could be imagined had not the Hindustan Steel Ltd. had been permitted to increase the price of steel, it indeed would have accounted for huge profits for the company but this could not be done as any increase in the price of steel or fertilizer would hit the economy in the field of industry and agriculture very adversely. With this national objective in view, these vital industries in the public

sector cannot be allowed to operate on the principle of maximum profits. They have to play an important role in developing and strengthening Indian economy and have, therefore, to limit their profits or, if necessary, accept losses which are not of their seeking.

There is another classic example. The Government has spent thousands of crores of rupees on power projects in India to make cheaper power available to industries in the country and to carry electricity to the millions of villages. This is very vital for the growth of industry and agriculture. Power projects generating electricity can earn huge profits if the electricity rates are increased but this will be against the accepted policy of the State to make available these basic amenities to industry and the people at the lowest possible price. These examples should make it amply clear that the sole criterion of the successful operation of an enterprise in the public sector cannot be profit alone. Its first and foremost objective is social gain. It is, therefore, wholly wrong to compare public sector undertakings with the private undertakings on the basis of more profits or larger returns.

Handicaps Suffered by Public Enterprises

The mian reasons for the poor performance of and losses suffered by some of the public undertakings may be enumerated as follows:

Absence of trained man-power:

Many of the public industries were set up at time when the coun- country's level of technological competence was inadequate to conceive, plan and implement such large projects. Some of these industries have been set up in the country for the first time. The foundry did not possess trained man-power or technical know-how when the projects were launched.

Very high capital outlay on township and Welfare activities:

The total capital outlay on townships, hospitals, schools etc. in the public undertakings is over Rs. 300 crores constituting about 9 per cent of the total investment on these projects. Hindustan Steel alone has spent about Rs. 80 crores on townships. This expenditure is on a very high side but social responsibilities in terms of labour welfare find greater reflections in the public sector investment than the private sector.

Poor management-labour relations

Indiscipline among the workers and poor management-labour relations have affected production, sales and revenue of many public enterprises. Lockouts, sitdown strikes, work to rule agitation and violent disturbances have hit production and sales.

Low pricing dictated by national factors

Some of the enterprises just cannot formulate their own pricing policy based on higher profits. The price of their products (like steel, fertilizers, coal, electricity, oil etc.) has direct bearing on the overall growth of economy and social gains. There is always public pressure to keep these prices at low level even when the production cost has gone up. This affects profitability very adversely.

Recession:

The recession which over-took the Indian economy since 1963-64 affected sales very adversely and contributed for the poor record of the public undertakings.

Large overhead expenditure:

Large overhead expenditure in many industries is accounting for the increased cost of production and low returns. There is extravagance in overhead expenditure particularly on townships and other welfare activities which needs to be cut down.

Overemployment:

Due to defective planning and fore-thought and delay in construction, many of the public enterprises have accumulated huge man-power far in excess of their needs. This has resulted in heavy recurring expenditure. The staff is also untrained and unskilled to ensure optimum production.

Over capitalisation:

Several undertakings are over-capitalised, *e.g.*, Heavy Engineering Corporation, Hindustan Aeronautics, Trombay Unit of Fertilizer Corporation etc. This results in surplus machine

capacity, avoidable expenditure, delay in tied-aid resulting in compulsion to purchase imported machines on non-competitive basis etc. Over-capitalisation can be attributed to bad planning.

Delay in construction of projects:

Delay in completion of the projects accounted for heavy increase in the cost of construction. The Trombay Unit of Fertilizer Corporation took 6-7 years to complete against the original estimate of 3 years. Estimated cost of construction went up from Rs. 27 crores (1959) to Rs. 40 crores in 1965.

Absence of sound pricing policy:

Leaving aside the cases of some of the basic industries like steel, fertilizers, coal, oil, electricity, transport etc. which being directly linked with the growth of Indian economy and social gains, do not provide much scope for price raise (here also production cost could certainly be cut down by rigid control of inventory, cutting down overheads, optimum utilisation of plant capacity etc.), other industries can certainly give due weightage to adequate return in their pricing policy. This is not being done. 'Public sector for public good' sentiment has to be judged with reality.

Plants working far below rated capacity:

Unutilised plant capacity is entailing heavy losses or eating away big chunks of profits. Many enterprises have not laid down precise targets of production to be achieved within a given period based on proper assessment of capacities.

The author notes that a frank appraisal of the working of the public enterprises in India reveals the following facts:

Performance of several public enterprises is very good and compares favourably with the performance of the industries of a similar stature in the private sector.

Performance of quite a large number of public enterprises is not at all satisfactory. In such cases, not only more than 50 per cent installed plant capacity is lying idle, their production, marketing and sales strategies have failed to bring any

appreciable results because of strained management labour relations, bad planning, inefficient management system, absence of sound production and marketing programmes and many other factors. There is much scope for improving the working and operational efficiency of the public enterprises.

Measures for Improving Efficiency

The following measures are suggested for improving the efficiency of the public enterprises:

Incentive Bonus Scheme:

Excepting for a few public enterprises like Hindustan Machine Tools, Chittaranjan Locomotive Works etc., the incentive bonus scheme does not find place, in its proper perspective, in the public enterprises. The introduction of the system of piece-work rating and bonus as an incentive to increase production, efficiency and earning, has been widely recognised as a major objective all over the world. The following steps can be taken to implement incentive scheme:

(i) The management should introduce time studies of the different operations in workshops, factories and offices and consider suitable methods of recording the reasonable output of individuals or small groups.

(ii) The norms of work to be fixed in consultation with the unions of workers should be based on the standard of reasonable efficiency of an average worker and not on the existing low efficiency.

(iii) Incentive bonus should be paid to individuals or groups of workers for the extra work performed and additional production achieved over the standards so fixed. The workers' interest in increased production should also be stimulated by appeal to their own interests.

(iv) On a similar basis the people engaged in marketing and sales at different levels should be rewarded for their outstanding performance over and above the fixed targets. This will create an urge in the employees to

give the best in them and promote a very healthy competition among the employees and officers at different levels which will accelerate the rate of production.

Recognition of meritorious work:

All employees in the Government enterprises are expected to do their work efficiently and honestly. Nevertheless, there are cases of exceptional and outstanding work done by individuals which must receive special recognition by granting honoraria, letters of appreciation or prize medals. In a similar manner, successful efforts of officers to raise the standard of operational efficiency and to root out corruption and their good work and sense of public duty should be considered as one of the qualifications for accelerated promotion. Further, if somebody does any meritorious work, his name may be mentioned in the Annual Reports and he should be suitably rewarded.

Cash awards for valuable suggestions, inventions etc.:

Some of the public enterprises have introduced the scheme of offering cash awards for valuable suggestions or inventions with a view to providing opportunities to members of the staff to demonstrate or explain their inventive ideas which will lead to vital economies in the production process, sales or efficient functioning of the enterprises or which will help in effecting major savings in any field of operation. Air India, Hindustan Shipyard Indian Telephone Industries, Mysore Iron and Steel Works, the Railways, and some other industries have introduced 'Cash Your suggestion' scheme. All the public enterprises should accept this scheme. Suggestions Committees should be set up by the management consisting of senior and experienced technical officers which should meet periodically and review the suggestions coming from the employees at different levels. In order to ensure better results this scheme may be made attractive by granting promotions and advance increments to the employee or offering a stipend to his children for study in India or abroad. Some non-official members and representatives

of labour should also be co-opted in the Suggestions Committee. This will ensure impartiality. This scheme should be published on a wide scale so that it becomes popular among the employees.

Encouraging competitive spirit between different departments:

A healthy competition between different departments of an enterprise and also between different enterprises should be encouraged by introducing special prizes in the form of shield or cup which may be awarded annually to a particular department of an enterprise for the best performance. Similarly, the public undertaking giving best performance should also merit this prize from the Government of India. This will boost up competitive spirit among different departments and yield better results.

Participation of employees in decision-making:

It has now been accepted with a greater degree of confidence, both in the private and public sector industries that if administrative efficiency, economy and discipline and resultant higher productivity are to be obtained, the employees have to be associated in decision making on all important issues of the enterprises. This will give a sense of belonging to the employees and whatever decisions are taken by high-powered committees where employees are fully represented, will be respected and implemented whole-heartedly by the members of the staff. The small matters creating bigger labour and staff problems later on could be sorted out fruitfully through such Staff Councils. Staff meetings should be regular and frequent. The members of the staff should be encouraged to express their feelings freely. The Supervisor should try to lead his unit to a group discussion on any matter which affects general work policy rather than reserve this prerogative to himself. Employees' suggestions for improvement should be invited. Serious group problems of discipline should be discussed frequently and openly with the groups of employees affected in an attempt to obtain their solution of the difficulty.

Public Relations and Publicity:

Public relations and publicity are vital for developing cordial relations between management and employees. The enterprise should bring out a regular monthly or bimonthly journal or bulletin containing current information about the goals and successes of the enterprise and the matter of human interest concerning individual employees. The problems and difficulties of the employees should also appear in such journals with their solutions. There should be regular arrangement for film shows, celebration of the Annual Day function of the organisation, dance-drama festivals through which cordial management-labour relations could be cultivated.

Deputationists must go:

Government is already committed to free the public enterprises of the deputationist officers of the Central Government whose loyalty and inspiration lie not in the projects but in their parent organisation. Again, they do not possess technical qualifications which the enterprise needs of them. If some of them do possess these qualifications, they should be absorbed permanently in the projects and asked to resign from the Government service forthwith. They must merge their identity and future with the project. This will give them a sense of belonging and dedication and make them accountable to the project for their performance and future prospects. They must give their best to make the enterprise a success or else they also go out with the eclipse of the enterprise. There should be no more extension of the deputation period.

Scientific recruitment policy:

A new recruitment policy should be formulated at all levels whether for the top managerial officers or people at middle and low management level. Over a decade ago, Industrial Management Pool was created to provide competent top management personnel to the public enterprises but it failed to deliver the goods. Appointment in public sector enterprises have been kept outside the purview of the Union Public Service Commission. Projects have their Departmental

Recruitment Committees. But this has not always found the right type of personnel the project really needed. The result is continuing failure in different fields.

Need for Industrial Public Service Commission:

An Industrial Public Service Commission—a high powered body of competent professional and technical experts and public men should be set up to select the right type of personnel for the public enterprises from general managers to engineers, shift supervisors, foremen, and from marketing managers to sales officers. This Commission will be able to follow an integrated, co-ordinated and uniform procedure of recruitment and eliminate all chances of corruption, favouritism and nepotism now prevalent in the projects. For filling labour force and posts in the lower cadres, priority must be given to local and regional people and attempt should not be made to import people from outside the State.

Training in management:

Mere organising ability and administrative skill are not enough today in manning technical jobs. Industrial management of today requires a thorough knowledge of economics, finance, accountancy, psychology, marketing and sales. For technical jobs also, fully qualified and trained engineers and technicians are needed on whom depends the successful operation of the plants. This calls for efficient system of training the personnel in different fields of management. Indian Institutes of Management have been set up at Calcutta and Ahmedabad for imparting training in modern methods of management, advertising, sales, marketing and business administration. Delhi University and some other Universities also have specialised Diploma and Degree Courses in Business and Industrial Management. Administrative Staff College established by the Central Government at Hyderabad provides useful training in administration and management. Institutes of Technology have been set up in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Delhi, Kanpur and Kharagpur which provide highly skilled engineers. The public enterprises should recruit officers trained in modern methods of management in different fields. They should send their existing officers on various training courses available in the country.

Marketing strategy:

The public sector enterprises are producing goods, machinery and equipiment of various types and the total turn-over of sales of all the enterprises during 1968-69 reached the figure of 2,400 crores, but surprisingly enough, no serious thought has been given to the question of setting up an organisation for marketing in most cases. It is necessary that there should be an appropriate marketing and sales organisation attached to each enterprise equipped with personnel adequately trained for the purpose. This will establish direct contact with the consumer of the product and eliminate the middleman. In bigger enterprises, there should be a full-fledged market research department which will conduct necessary research and make extensive surveys in the matter of wider scale of the production and explore new markets, both at home and abroad. These highly technical jobs cannot be left to the mercy of administrative officers.

Optimum use of plant capacity:

The plant capacity should be put to full use. Regular market surveys should be made both at home and abroad (through commercial Secretaries attached to Indian High Commissions) and markets for the products found. If the demand for a product manufactured by an enterprise has undergone change or the product has ceased to have any demand, they must go in for diversification of the product and plan manufacture as per new specifications and particular needs of the consumers. New markets should be explored for the products and new product lines introduced depending on demand for the same in domestic or foreign markets. Optimum use of the plant capacity will bring down cost of the product and increase profits.

THE GROWTH OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURE IN INDIA 1872-1968 (*A SECULAR AND TIME PATTERN ANALYSIS*) *by K. N. Reddy* (*Sterling Publishers, Delhi*, 1970)

This book examines the growth of government expenditure alongside national income in real terms and observes changes in govern-

ment expenditure as a proportion of national income. Further, it analyses the growth of expenditure on defence services, administrative services, social and development services and debt services in real money terms.

Growth of National Income and Government Expenditure.

Over the period 1872-1968, not only has there been a secular growth in government expenditure, but also in the share of government expenditure in national income. Between 1872-1968, the real income per capita rose from Rs. 192 to 324, while government expenditure *per capita* increased from Rs. 18.47 to Rs. 65.93.

The rapid expansion of government expenditure absolutely and as percentage of national income in the period after Independence was due to the change in the outlook as regards the States role in the country's economic development. The government's Industrial Policy Resolution, Directive Principles of State Policy and three Five Year Plans clearly had an impact on the growth of government expenditure. On comparison with the other countries, particularly, the United Kingdom, Germany and Japan where similar studies have been made, the experience of India confirms the Wagnerian doctrine that the government expenditure in any society will grow at faster rate than community output. Over the period of 65 years (1890-1955) *per capita* government expenditure in real terms increased by 82 per cent in India, 926 per cent in Japan, 611 per cent in the United Kingdom and 601 per cent in Germany. During the same period the *per capita* real income increased by 29 per cent in India, 237 per cent in the United Kingdom, and 135 per cent in Germany. Of the four countries, Japan experienced the highest increase (both in terms of government expenditure and national income) whereas India experienced lowest increase. The income elasticity of demand for government expenditure in all these countries was far in excess of unity. It was 2.8 in India, 3.9 in Japan, 8.3 in the United Kinkdom and 4.5 in Germany.

The comparison of growth of government expenditure in India over shorter periods—peace time—with the United Kingdom, Germany and Japan brings out contrasting results. It need not surprise any one, because the stages of economic development and social and political set up of these countries had been fundamentally different from that of India.

Defence expenditure

During the period 1872-1968, the *per capita* defence expenditure in India in real terms increased from Rs. 5.12 in 1872-1880 to Rs. 10.48 in 1961-68 (an increase of 105 per cent) whereas it increased in money terms from 82 paise in 1872-1880 to Rs. 14.26 in 1961-1968 (an increase of 1639 per cent). As a proportion of national income spent, defence expenditure amounted to roughly 2.5 per cent during the whole pre-Independence period with the exception of the periods 1915-1920, and 1939-1947. In the period after 1950, the proportion of defence expenditure in national income has remained around 2 per cent except during the years after 1962.

Before Independence, all the three measures of defence expenditure—per capita in real terms, percentage in total expenditure and percentage in national income—remained constant except during the decades in which World Wars occurred. After Independence, while total defence expenditure in real terms increased fourfold (1950-1968), in a matter of less than 20 years, *per capita* expenditure on defence rose almost three fold and the proportion of national income spent on defence almost doubled; but the proportion of total government expenditure incurred on defence remained almost constant. At the same time, it is interesting to note that the highest proportion of national income spent on defence in the period after Independence i.e. 4.74 in 1964, was far below the highest level reached before Independence i.e. 7.7 per cent in 1944, the penultimate year of World War II.

On international comparison, India is spending 4 per cent of its national income on defence and on that count it cannot be concluded that she is spending more than or less than her means; for there are countries which are devoting more than what India is spending, irrespective of their economic position and state of economic development. The question whether defence expenditure in India is within her means remains unanswered without the technical expertise in the matters of defence.

Administrative expenditure

During the period 1872—1968, the *per capita* administrative expenditure in real terms increased from Rs. 2.62 in 1892—1900 to Rs. 5.13 in 1961—1968 (an increase of 127 per cent), whereas it increased in money terms from 49 paise in 1890—1900 to Rs. 6.85 in 1961—1968 (an increase of 1298 per cent).

As a proportion of total government expenditure administrative expenditure increased from 14.6 per cent of total government expenditure in 1890—1900—after declining in the immediate decade to 13.9 per cent—to 14.9 per cent in 1911—20, and 21.8 per cent (highest in the period under review) in 1931—37. Interestingly enough, it declined to 13.8 per cent in 1938—47, the period of World War and declined further to about 12 per cent in the first decade after Independence, and to 8 per cent in 1961—68.

As a proportion of national income, administrative expenditure remained around a little more than one per cent during the period before Independence, with the lone exception of the decade 1931—40, when the proportion reached 2 per cent. In the period after Independence, the proportion of national income spent on administration increased from 1.1 per cent in 1949-50 to 1.5 in 1951—60 and 1.7 in 1961—68 (an increase of 53 per cent from 1949-50 to 1961—68).

Another item of administrative expenditure which deserves special attention is the growth of expenditure on external affairs in the period after Independence. Much of the increase on this head has been due to increase in diplomatic relations.

With respect to the growth of cost of collection of taxes, two important points emerge: (1) Cost of tax collection had increased with the tax yield, (2) the proportionate increase in cost was lower than the proportionate increase in tax yield, and hence the ratio of cost of collection to the tax yield showed a declining trend. Interestingly enough this trend has not continued after 1967.

Social and developmental expenditure

The social and developmental expenditure increased significantly over the period review in terms of *per capita* real expenditure, proportion of total government expenditure and national income. It marked a distinct break with the past since Independence. The level of per capita expenditure in real terms during 1951—1960 was Rs. 18.47 i.e. more than 3 times the level obtained during 1938—1947. During 1961—1968 the *per capita* real expenditure was even higher at Rs. 34.30. The proportion of national income devoted to social and developmental services had varied from 1.90 per cent in 1921—1930 to 11.40 per cent in 1961—1968. It increased from 2.56 per cent in 1892—1900 to 3.20 per cent in 1901—1910, and declined in the subsequent decades to 2.60 per cent and 1.90 per cent in

1911—1920 and 1921—1930 respectively. In the period after Independence, 1949-1950 to 1961—1968 within 20 years, the proportion of national income devoted to social and developmental expenditure increased by 183 per cent, while the proportion of administrative services in national income remained roughly the same at 1 per cent, not only in the post-Independence period, but also in the pre-Independence period.

With respect to the growth of expenditure on various social and developmental services, it is found that, the proportion of national income devoted to education increased from 0.18 per cent in 1892—1900 to 1.81 in 1961—66; while the proportion of national income spent on medical and public health increased from 0.13 per cent to 0.73 per cent during the same period. Similarly, the proportion of national income devoted to agriculture has increased from 0.05 per cent in 1892—1900 to 1.05 per cent in 1961—66. With regard to irrigation, although there has been a decline in the proportion of national income devoted to irrigation charged to revenue over the period under review, there has been an increase, if the entire expenditure on irrigation charged to Revenue and Capital Accounts is taken into account. The proportion of national income spent on irrigation (Revenue and Capital Accounts) increased from 0.45 per cent in 1892—1900 to 0.68 per cent in 1961—1966.

Debt Servicing

During the period 1872—1880 to 1961—1968—the *per capita* expenditure of Central Government on gross interest charges increased from 37 paise to Rs. 6.56 in money terms (an increase of 1700 per cent) whereas it increased from Rs. 2.11 to Rs. 4.91 only in real terms (an increase of 133 per cent).

As a proportion of national income and total tax revenue, the total Debt Services reached the highest level during 1931—1937; such an increase never occurred either in the British period or in the post-Independence period. Both the ratios had come down to the minimum during the decade of 1951—1960, and moved upward during 1961—1965.

Nearly 1.0 per cent of the national income went out of the country by way of debt services upto 1937 in the British period and above 0.5 per cent during 1961—65.

However, throughout the period, (with the exception of the first two decades) a major portion of public debt was utilised for productive

purposes (*i.e.* for creating interest yielding assets). It is matter of gratification that the debt raised during the British period resulted in important asset formation—railways, post and telegraph, irrigation projects etc.

The net burden on the community in terms of net debt services to national income was negligible. Surprisingly this ratio began increasing in recent years; unless some careful attempts are made to reduce the net debt services, the debt servicing may become burdensome in the years to come.

Conclusions

Government expenditure has grown at a faster rate than community output and the removal of "permanent influences"—population and price changes—has not affected the secular growth. This is in line with the Wagnerian doctrine.

When examined during the shorter periods, the time pattern of expenditure growth suggests that increase or decrease in community output has no relevance whatsoever on the growth of government expenditure.

On the basis of the pattern of growth of Government expenditure in the United Kingdom, Germany and Japan, it is possible to form a thesis that the public expenditure cannot go on increasing at a faster rate than community output in real terms unendingly. Public sector may refuse to grow beyond a particular point.

India spent about 2.5 per cent of her national income on Defence in the British period (except the years in which World Wars occurred) and 2 per cent from 1950 to 1962 and 4 per cent thereafter. After Independence, in a span of less than 20 years (1950—1968) *per capita* expenditure on defence rose almost threefold and the proportion of national income spent on Defence almost doubled.

With the lone exception of the decade 1931—1940, India spent a little more than one per cent of her national income on Administrative Services during the whole period under review. Interestingly enough, the proportion has reached 1.7 in the period 1961—68. Much of this increase was on account of expenditure on 'Police' and 'General Administration'. The explanation usually given in the Explanatory Memoranda of the Union Budgets that the increase on Police expenditure was due largely to border policing did not find much substance. For

even after removing the expenditure on border policing, the police expenditure increased by 282 per cent during the period 1949—1965.

The expenditure on social and developmental services as a proportion of national income varied from 1.90 per cent in 1921—1930 to 11.40 per cent in 1961—1968. In terms of correlation coefficient between national income and developmental expenditure, there had been a low positive correlation up to the commencement of World War II and a very high positive correlation in the period after Independence.

Nearly one per cent of the national income went out of India by way of debt services up to 1937 and about 0.5 per cent during 1961—1965. However, throughout the period, under review—with the exception of the first two decades—a major portion of public debt was utilised for productive purposes.

The net burden on the community in terms of net debt services to national income was negligible. Surprisingly this ratio began increasing in recent years. Unless some attempts are made to reduce the net debt services, the debt services may become burdensome in the years to come.

PUBLIC DEBT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA by B. S. Sreekantaradhya (Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1972).

The purpose of this study is to analyse the role of public borrowing in resources mobilisation for economic development and to examine the implications of mounting public indebtedness—internal and external—for the Indian economy. In other words, the subject is to study the fiscal and monetary impact of the growing public indebtedness in the context of the economic development of India.

Public Debt and Economic Development

Since the beginning of planning in India, the increasing outlay in the successive plans has necessitated increased recourse to borrowing by the Central and State Governments. Rupee loans of the Central Government have recorded a substantial rise, but as percentage of the total internal debt, they show a considerable decline. The scheme of borrowing with lottery features which was experimented by introducing the Prize Bond and Premium Prize Bond scheme, failed to attract the investors and therefore the scheme has been discontinued. With greater publicity and improved sales techniques, the scheme should

have been continued as a means of attracting the genuine savings of the people. Market borrowing programmes under the Plans have been successful. Targets of market borrowing under each Plan have been easily fulfilled and the growth of public debt has contributed to an increase in the rate of capital formation and has facilitated a higher rate of investment in the Indian economy. Government's borrowing through treasury bills has risen substantially, but as a percentage of total debt its rise is not striking. Small savings movement as a means of tapping the genuine savings of the people has obviously a very important role to play in the scheme of mobilising resources for development through borrowing. But the targets of small savings collections have not been fulfilled under the Plans. While there was a large shortfall in the earlier Plans, there was a relatively small shortfall in the collections from small savings under the Third Plan. This improvement was due to the requirement that for automobile registration, deposits should be kept with Post Office Savings Bank rather than commercial banks and not due to any substantial increase in the small savings collections as such.

Public Debt since 1951

Since 1951, there has been a phenomenal increase in the internal public debt of India. The outstanding internal debt of the Government of India has increased by more than four times and that of the States by seventeen times (including loans from Centre) between 1951-52 and 1969-70. The major part of the States' debt is in the form of intergovernment debt. The total internal debt of the Government of India steadily increased from Rs. 2,469.53 crores at the end of March, 1951 to Rs. 3,082.75 crores at the end of March 1956 and to Rs. 10,653.84 crores at the end of March, 1970. Borrowing by the Government of India and the State Governments has contributed considerably to solve the problems of mobilising financial resources for development. But for the success of the borrowing programmes, reliance on taxation and deficit financing would have been heavier for mobilising the financial resources.

While public borrowing has been very helpful in mobilising resources for development, the resultant rise in public indebtedness has given rise to several problems associated with the growth of public debt in India.

Public Debt and National Income

The ratio of internal public debt to national income was only 26.9

per cent in 1951. It increased to 34.4 per cent in 1956, 43.9 per cent in 1961, 46.5 per cent in 1966 and declined to 40.5 per cent in 1968. Including the ratio of external debt (19.0 per cent) the ratio of total outstanding public debt to national income amounted to 59.50 per cent at the end of 1968.

The ratio of internal public debt to national income in India is quite small compared to the ratio in most of the countries of the world. Economic history shows that some countries had public debt amounting to as much as twice their national income without any adverse effect on their economy. India's internal public debt at present amounts to only less than half of the national income. The magnitude of the debt in relation to the national income is quite small and there is no sign of over borrowing internally. The outstanding internal public debt is within the manageable limit. The faster growth of public debt in relation to the growth of national income is indeed a matter of concern. But this should be treated as something inevitable in the early stages of economic development. The trend will be altered when the rate of investment on infra-structure will slow down as the economy reaches higher levels of development. It is absolutely necessary to speed up the rate of growth of the Indian economy from the point of view of making the burden of debt-servicing less onerous. If the targeted rate of growth of the economy cannot be achieved, the growing public debt will impose a heavy strain on the economy in future.

Ratio of interest on internal debt to national income, the ratio of interest payment to tax revenue and the ratio of interest payment to public expenditure indicate that the present size of internal public debt is not imposing heavy budgetary strain. Some portion of the interest paid amounts to no real payment as it goes to the government and semi-government institutions. The ratio of debt services to tax revenue is quite high, but the rise in debt services has not obstructed the allocation of funds for other expenditures. The proportion of public expenditure absorbed by debt services has increased. But along with this, allocation of funds for other expenditures has also increased. Useful social expenditures has not been obstructed by the rise in debt services.

Productive employment of the borrowed funds makes the burden of public debt less onerous. The liabilities of the government are adequately covered by the assets. But the public undertakings in which the government has invested the borrowed funds are not yielding ade-

quate returns. The present trends in the working of public undertakings are highly unsatisfactory. Through efficient management and appropriate price policy, the rate of return on the capital employed in public undertakings should be substantially raised. Securing adequate returns on the capital employed in the public undertakings is perhaps the best means of lessening the burden of debt-servicing.

In the light of the above analysis it may be stated that the effect of the rapid increase in the internal public debt is not so alarming as to require the imposition of statutory limit on borrowing by the government. Parliament is already exercising *de facto* control over borrowing by the government and no real purpose would be served by fixing a limit within which the government may borrow. In the context of planning for an expanding economy, what really matters is not the size of public debt as such, but how the public debt is managed.

Management of Public Debt

The most important objective of public debt management is to support the economic objective of development with stability. The loan operations should support and not disturb the objective of maintaining monetary stability. A study of the ownership pattern and maturity structure of India's public debt shows that the debt management techniques have not supported the objective of maintaining monetary stability and they have instead disturbed monetary stability in the Indian economy. The growing public debt has an inflationary part of the consequences especially because the banking sector owns the major part of the government securities and the Treasury Bills and other short-term loans constitute a considerable portion of public debt. Since the need for controlling inflation is paramount, it is necessary to lessen the dependence on the banking sector for government loans and rely more on individual investors and trusts and non-bank financial institutions. It is also necessary to reduce the volume of outstanding Treasury Bills by increasing the rate of converting them into dated securities.

Rates of Interest

There is a strong case for increasing the rates of interest on government loans and for rationalising the spread between the rates on the short and the long dated securities from the point of view of making investment in government securities more attractive. Besides other measures, offering higher interest rates is necessary to attract the genuine savings of the people to government loans. During the Fourth

Five-Year Plan, the government has to mobilise large amount of additional resources to fill the uncovered gap in the financial resources of the Plan. The additional resources, according to the Planning Commission, are to be obtained through changes in taxation and pricing policies of public enterprises as well as through improvements in receipts from small savings, Provident Fund contributions etc. The government can even fix a higher target of market borrowing and successfully borrow from the public by offering higher rates of interest. Increasing the rates of interest on government loans will go a long way in facing the problem of finding additional financial resources during the Fourth Plan period.

External Public Debt

The new India came into being with a negligible amount of external public debt. The increased export earnings during the Second World War period enabled India to redeem the external public debt and accumulate foreign exchange reserves. But after launching economic planning, the accumulated foreign exchange reserves were exhausted soon. In order to cover the investment gap and the balance of payments gap, the Government of India has been forced to borrow externally on a large scale. The United States of America stands first among the foreign governments which have extended loans to the Government of India. Nearly half of India's external public debt is owned by the United States of America. Through several agencies the U.S. has supplied both soft and hard loans. The U.K., U.S.S.R., Federal Republic of Germany, Japan and Canada are the other important foreign Governments which have extended loans to the Government of India. In addition to the foreign governments, the World Bank and the International Development Association have contributed substantially to India's external public loans. As a result of heavy borrowing abroad, the outstanding external public debt of India has risen from a small amount of Rs. 49 crores at the end of March, 1951 to as much as Rs. 6,140 crores at the end of March, 1970. The phenomenal increase in external public debt has conferred certain benefits on the Indian economy and at the same time it has caused an increase in the burden of external debt servicing.

Contribution of the external public debt to the economic development of the country should be taken into consideration while assessing the burden of external debt-servicing. Any quantitative measurement of the contribution of external loans to India's economic development is an elusive task. Nevertheless, a study of the purpose-wise utilisation

of external loans shows the significance of the external assistance in increasing the productive capacity in the Indian economy. Contribution of external loans to the development of transport and communications, particularly railways, ports, airways and road transport and steel projects, power and irrigation, machine tools and petroleum industries is quite significant. With greater efficiency in the management of these projects, their contribution to the development of the Indian economy could be further increased. The significance of external debt lies in the fact that it finances that expenditure which cannot be met by the country's export earnings and makes higher rate investment possible and thereby contributes to an increase in the productive capacity of the country.

Cost of debt-servicing

The growing external public debt has created an external debt-servicing problem of a severe nature. This is mainly because of the fact that the terms of loans such as rates of interest, repayment period and mode of repayment have not been favourable to the Indian economy which is still in the early stages of development. The indicator of the debt-servicing burden, *viz.* the ratio of debt services to tax-revenue, ratio of debt services to savings, the ratio of debt services to export earnings and the ratio of debt services to gross aid utilised indicate that the burden of external debt servicing is very heavy. Since it is inevitable to rely on external aid at the present stage of India's economic development, further borrowing should be on liberal terms. It is gratifying that the lending countries have recognised the need for softening the terms of loans. The Government of India should try to secure loans on more liberal terms and to acquire the necessary debt-servicing capacity by promoting exports, linking of debt services to exports, import substitution and more than all by enlarging the absorptive capacity of the Indian economy.

Conclusions

The growing internal public debt by itself need not be a matter of concern.

The mounting external public indebtedness also by itself need not be a matter of alarm.

It is with regard to debt management that several defects and deficiencies have been noticed. This is true in respect of both internal and external public debt.

It is necessray to recognise the fact that there is a case for a far more effective use of borrowed funds, both internal and external.

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Special Tables

Age Composition and Occupational pattern of Members of Fifth Lok Sabha*

The following Tables show the age composition and prior occupations of Members of the Fifth Lok Sabha as well as the number of women Members. These particulars are based on the information contained in *Lok Sabha Who's Who*, 1971.

The ages taken in this compilation are as on March 19, 1971, the date of the first sitting of the Fifth Lok Sabha. The age groups are divided into intervals of 5 years for the sake of convenience. Details of age groups, occupations and number of women Members for the First, Second, Third and Fourth Lok Sabhas have also been included in these Tables for ready reference.

*Prepared by the Library, Reference and Information Service of the Lok Sabha Secretariat.

TABLE NO. 1.

Statement showing the distribution of Members of Fifth Lok Sabha by Age-Groups (Age of Election to Lok Sabha)*

Age Groups	No. of Members
25—30 Years	16
31—35 Years	27
36—40 Years	62
41—45 Years	73
46—50 Years	98
51—55 Years	92
56—60 Years	57
61—65 Years	35
66—70 Years	25
71—75 Years	9
76—80 Years	2
81—85 Years	1
**TOTAL	497
Total No. of seats	521

*Date of the first sitting of the Fifth Lok Sabha, i.e. March 19, 1971, has been taken into account for this purpose.

**The total indicates only those Members who supplied the information.

TABLE NO. 2.

*Statement showing the distribution of Members of First Lok Sabha, Second Lok Sabha' Third Lok Sabha, Fourth Lok Sabha, and Fifth Lok Sabha by Age-Groups**

Age Groups	No. of Members				
	First Lok Sabha	Second Lok Sabha	Third Lok Sabha	Fourth Lok Sabha	Fifth Lok Sabha
25—30 years	28	13	11	21	16
31—35 years	54	60	34	38	27
36—40 years	58	91	64	65	62
41—45 years	68	71	79	84	73
46—50 years	74	64	73	85	98
51—55 years	93	76	69	69	92
56—60 years	47	70	58	54	57
61—65 years	29	25	58	39	35
66—70 years	10	12	21	25	25
71—75 years	1	4	6	10	9
76—80 years			1	2	2
81—85 years	..	..	1	1	1
**TOTAL	462	486	475	493	497
Total No. of seats	499	500	503	523	521

*Date of the first sitting of the Lok Sabha has been taken into account for the purpose.

**The total indicates only those Members who supplied the information.

TABLES NO. 3

*Statement Showing the distribution of Members elected to Fifth Lok Sabha by their prior Occupation**

	Prior Occupation	Number of Members	Percentage to total
1.	Cultivators & Landholders	176	35·4
2.	Political & Social Workers	92	18·9
3.	Lawyers	93	18·8
4.	Traders & Industrialists	39	8·0
5.	Teachers & Educationists	36	7·0
6.	Journalists and Writers	30	5·9
7.	Civil & Military Service	12	2·2
8.	Medical Practitioners	11	2·2
9.	Engineers, Architects and Technologists	5	1·0
10.	Former Rulers	1	0·2
11.	Religious Missionaries	2	0·4
12.	Industrial workers	..	
13.	Artists	..	..
	**TOTAL	497	100·00
	Total No. of seats	521	

*Some Members had more than one prior occupation. For the sake of this table, however, the profession which appeared predominant in the Members career has been taken into account.

**The total indicates only those Members who supplied the information about their prior occupation.

TABLE NO. 4

Statement showing the Prior Occupation of Members of the First, Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Lok Sabhas

Percentage to the total

	First Lok Sabha	Second Lok Sabha
1. Lawyers	35.6	30.3
2. Agriculturists	22.4	29.1
3. Traders & Industrialists	12.0	10.2
4. Civil & Military Service.	3.7	4.0
5. Medical Practitioners	4.9	3.5
6. Teachers, etc.	9.9	11.3
7. Journalists & Writers	10.4	10.2
8. Former Rulers	1.1	1.4

	Third Lok Sabha	Fourth Lok Sabha	Fifth Lok Sabha
1. Cultivators and Landholders	27.4	30.6	35.4
2. Political & Social Workers	18.7	22.9	18.9
3. Lawyers	24.5	17.5	18.8
4. Traders & Industrialists	10.3	7.7	8.0
5. Teachers & Educationists	5.8	6.5	7.0
6. Journalists & Writers	5.8	4.8	5.9
7. Civil & Military Service	0.9	3.2	2.2
8. Medical Practitioners	3.0	2.8	2.2
9. Engineers, Architects and Technologists	0.9	1.4	1.0
10. Former Rulers	2.1	1.4	0.2
11. Religious Missionaries	0.2	0.8	0.4
12. Industrial Workers	0.2	0.2	..
13. Artists	..	0.2	..

TABLE NO. 5

Statement showing the number of Women Members elected to First, Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Lok Sabhas

	Total No. of Seats	No.of Women Members	Percentage to the total
First Lok Sabha	499	22	4·4
Second Lok Sabha	500	27	5·4
Third Lok Sabha	503	34	6·7
Fourth Lok Sabha	523	31	5·9
Fifth Lok Sabha	521	22	4·2

APPENDICES

I. Statement showing the work transacted by the Lok Sabha during the period 1st October to 31st December, 1971.

II. Statement showing the work transacted by Rajya Sabha during the period 1st October to 31st December, 1971.

III. Statement showing the activities of the State Legislatures during the period 1st October to 31st December, 1971.

IV. List of Bills passed by the Houses of Parlaiment and assented to by the President during the period 1st October to 31st December, 1971.

V. List of Bills passed by State Legislatures during the period 1st October to 31st December, 1971.

VI. Ordinances issued by the Central and State Governments during the period 1st October to 31st December, 1971.

VII. Party Position in Parliament and State Legislatures:

A. (i) Lok Sabha (State-wise).

(ii) Lok Sabha (Party-wise).

B. (i) Rajya Sabha (State-wise).

(ii) Rajya Sabha (Party-wise).

C. State Legislative Assemblies.

APPENDIX I

Statement showing the work transacted by Lok Sabha during the Period October 1st to December 31st, 1971

Period of the Session—November, 15 to December 23, 1971

2. Number of meetings held—31

3. Total number of sitting hours—156 hours and 21 minutes

4. Number of divisions held—29

5. GOVERNMENT BILLS :

(*i*)	Pending at the commencement of the session	
(*ii*)	Introduced	42
(*iii*)	Laid on the Table as passed by Rajya Sabha	6
(*iv*)	Returned by Rajya Sabha with any amendment/recommendation and laid on the Table	1
(*v*)	Referred to Select Committee	NIL
(*vi*)	Referred to Joint Committee	NIL
(*vii*)	Reported by Select Committee	NIL
(*viii*)	Reported by Joint Committee	
(*ix*)	Discussed	47
(*x*)	Passed	NIL
(*xi*)	Withdrawn	NIL
(*xii*)	Negatived	NIL
(*xiii*)	Part-discussed	NIL
(*xiv*)	Discussion postponed	9
(*xv*)	Returned by Rajya Sabha without any recommendation	
(*xvi*)	Motion for concurrence to refer the Bill to Joint Committee adopted	NIL
(*xvii*)	Pending at the end of the session	8

6. PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS :

(*i*)	Pending at the commencement of the sessisn	59
(*ii*)	Introduced	16
(*iii*)	Laid on the Table as passed by Rajya Sabha	NIL
(*iv*)	Returned by Rajya Sabha with any amendment and laid on the Table	NIL
(*v*)	Reported by Joint Committee	NIL

(*vi*)	Discussed	3
(*vii*)	Passed	NIL
(*viii*)	Withdrawn	NIL
(*ix*)	Negatived	2
(*x*)	Circulated for eliciting opinion	NIL
(*xi*)	Part-discussed	1
(*xii*)	Discussion postponed	NIL
(*xiii*)	Motion for circulation of Bill negatived	NIL
(*xiv*)	Referred to Select Committee	NIL
(*xv*)	Removed from the Register of Pending Bills	Nill
(*xvi*)	Pending at the end of the session	73

7. NUMBER OF DISCUSSION HELD UNDER RULE 193: (Matters of Urgent Public Importance)

(*i*)	Notices received	50
(*ii*)	Admitted	2
(*iii*)	Discussion held	2

8. NUMBER OF STATEMENTS MADE UNDER RULE 197 : (Calling-attention to matters of urgent pubic importance)

	Statement made by Ministers	13

9. Half-an-hour discussion held 1

10. STATUTORY RESOLUTIONS:

(*i*)	Notices received	58
(*ii*)	Admitted	14
(*iii*)	Moved	13
(*iv*)	Adopted	8
(*v*)	Negatived	5
(*vi*)	Withdrawn	NIL

11. GOVERNMENT RESOLUTIONS :

(*i*)	Notices received	1
(*ii*)	Admitted	1
(*iii*)	Moved	1
(*iv*)	Adopted	1

12. PRIVATE MEMBERS' RESOLUTIONS:

(*i*)	Received	6
(*ii*)	Admitted	5
(*iii*)	Discussed	

(*iv*)	Withdrawn	NIL
(*v*)	Negatived	2
(*vi*)	Adopted	NIL
(*vii*)	Part-discussed	1
(*viii*)	Discussion postponed	NIL

13. GOVERNMENT MOTIONS:

(*i*)	Notices received	5
(*ii*)	Admitted	5
(*iii*)	Moved	3
(*iv*)	Adopted	1*
(*v*)	Part Discussed	NIL

*(Substitute motion adopted)

14. PRIVATE MEMBERS' MOTIONS :

(*i*)	Received	71
(*ii*)	Admitted	17
(*iii*)	Moved	2
(*iv*)	Adopted	NIL
(*v*)	Discussed	2
(*vi*)	Negatived	2
(*vii*)	Part-discussed	NIL
(*viii*)	Withdrawn	NIL

15. MOTIONS *Re.* MODIFICATION OF STATUTORY RULE :

(*i*)	Received	1
(*ii*)	Admitted	1
(*iii*)	Moved	1
(*iv*)	Adopted	NIL
(*v*)	Negatived	1
(*vi*)	Withdrawn	NIL
(*vii*)	Part-discussed	NIL

16. Number of Parliamentary Committees created, if any, during the session . . . . . NIL

17. Total number of Visitor's Passes issued during the session 16,881

18. Maximum number of Visitor's Passes issued on any single day, and date on which issued . . . . . 1211 on 3-12-1971

19. NUMBER OF ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS :

(i) Brought before the House . . }
(ii) Admitted and discussed . . . } NIL

(iii)	Barred in view of adjournment Motion admitted on the subject.	Nil
(iv)	Consent withheld by Speaker outside the House	38
(v)	Consent given by Speaker but leave not granted by House . .	Nil.

20. TOTAL NUMBER OF QUESTIONS ADMITTED :

(i)	Starred	447
(ii)	Unstarred (Including Starred Questions converted as Unstarred Questions)	2,765
(iii)	Short-notice Questions	1
		(later on withdrawn)

21. NUMBER OF REPORTS OF VARIOUS PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES PRESENTED TO THE LOK SABHA :

(i)	Estimates Committee	6
(ii)	Public Accounts Committee	16
(iii)	Committee on Public Undertakings	10
(iv)	Business Advisory Committee	3
(v)	Committee on Absence of Members from the sittings of the House. .	Nil.
(vi)	Committee on Subordinate Legislation . . .	1
(vii)	Committee on Petitions .	1
(viii)	Committee of Privileges	1
(ix)	Committee on Private Members Bills and Resolutions	
(x)	Committee on Government Assurances	1
(xi)	Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	6
(xii)	Joint Committee on Offices of Profit	1
(xiii)	Rules Committee .	Nil
(xiv)	Committee on the conduct of a Member during President's Address.	1
(xv)	Joint Committee on salaries and Allowances of Members of Parliament.	1
(xvi)	Committee on Subordinate Legislation, .	1
(xvii)	Joint Committee on offices of Profit] .	1

22. Number of Members granted leave of absence Nil

23. Petitions presented Nil

24. NEW MEMBERS SWORN IN:—

Sl. No.	Name of Member and Constituency	Date of taking Oath
1.	Shri C. Subramaniam . . . [Krishnagiri —Tamil Nadu]	15-11-1971
2.	Shri Mohanraj Kalingarayar . . [Pollachi—Tamil Nadu]	19-11-1971

25. OBITUARY REFERENCES MADE IN THE HOUSE

Sl. No.	Name and Particulars of Members	Date on which Reference made
1.	Shri K. Madhava Menon Member of Constitutent Assembly .	15-11-1971
2.	Shri Hafiz Mohammad Ghzanfarulla Member of the Central Legislative Assembly	15-11-1971
3.	Dr. Syed Mahmud Member of First and Second Lok Sabha. . .	15-11-1971
4.	Shri P. T. Punnoose Member of First and Second Lok Sabha. . .	15-11-1971
5.	Shri K. Kelappan Member of First Lok Sabha.	15-11-1971
6.	Shri Mahendra Majhi Member of Third and Fourth Lok Sabha. .	15-11-1971
7.	Shri Yashpal Singh Member of Third and Fourth Lok Sabha. . .	15-11-1971
8.	Shri Rajendra Kohar Member of Third Lok Sabha . . .	29-11-1971
9.	Shri G.M. Sadiq Chief Minister of Jammu & Kashmir . .	13-11-1971
10.	Shri Bhagwandin Misra Member of Second Lok Sabha. . . .	13-11-1971

APPENDIX II

Statement showing the work Transacted during the 78th Session of Rajya Sabha

1.	Period of the session—	November 15, 1971 to December, 24, 1971.
2.	Number of meetings held	31
3.	Total number of sitting hours—	158 hrs. 39 Minutes
4.	Number of divisions held—	38
	GOVERNMENT BILLS :	
	(i) Pending at the commencement of the session	15
	(ii) Introduced	7
	(iii) Laid on the Table as passed by Lok Sabha	44
	(iv) Returned by Lok Sabha with any amendment/recommendation and laid on the Table	Nil
	(v) Referred to Select Committee	Nil
	(vi) Referred to Joint Committee	Nil
	(vii) Reported by Select Committee	Nil
	(viii) Reported by Joint Committee	Nil
	(ix) Discussed	Nil
	(x) Passed	Nil
	(xi) Withdrawn	Nil
	(xii) Negatived	Nil
	(xiii) Part-discussed	Nil
	(xiv) Returned by Lok Sabha without any recommendation	Nil
	(xv) Discussion postponed	Nil
	(xvi) Pending at the end of the session	15
6.	PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS :	
	(i) Pending at the commencement of the session	66
	(ii) Introduced	3
	(iii) Laid on the Table as passed by Lok Sabha	Nil
	(iv) Returned by Lok Sabha with any amendment and laid on the Table.	Nil
	(v) Reported by Joint Committee	Nil
	(vi) Discussed	3
	(vii) Passed	Nil
	(viii) Withdrawn	3

(ix) Negatived	1
(x) Circulated for eliciting opinion	Nil
(xi) Part-discussed	1
(xii) Discussion postponed	Nil
(xiii) Motion for circulation of Bill negatived	Nil
(xiv) Referred to Select Committee	Nil
(xv) Pending at the end of the session	65

7. NUMBER OF DISCUSSIONS HELD UNDER RULES76 : (Matters of Urgent Public Importance)

(i) Notices received	35
(ii) Admitted	4
(iii) Discussion held	3

8. NUMBER OF STATEMENTS MADE UNDER RULE 180: (Calling attention to matters of urgent public importance)

Statements made by Ministers	13

9. Half-an-hour discussions held 1

10. STATUTORY RESOLUTIONS:

(i) Notices received	14
(ii) Admitted	14
(iii) Moved	13
(iv) Adopted	7
(v) Negatived	6
(vi) Withdrawn	Nil

11. GOVERNMENT RESOLUTIONS:

(i) Notices received	1
(ii) Admitted	1
(iii) Moved	1
(iv) Adopted	1

12. PRIVATE MEMBERS' RESOLUTIONS :

(i) Revceived	10
(ii) Admitted	10
(iii) Discussed	2 (1 withdrawn)
(iv) Withdrawn	Nil
(v) Negatived	Nil
(vi) Adopted	Nil
(vi) Part-discussed	Nil
(viii) Discussion postponed	Nil

13. GOVERNMENT MOTIONS:

(i) Notices received	3
(ii) Admitted	3
(iii) Moved	1
(iv) Adopted	Nil
(v) Part-discussed	Nil

14. PRIVATE MEMBERS' MOTIONS:

(i) Received	77
(ii) Admitted	48
(iii) Moved	1
(iv) Adopted	Nil
(v) Part-discussed	Nil
(vi) Negatived	Nil
(vii) Withdrawn	Nil

15. MOTIONS REGARDING MODIFICATION OF STATUTORY RULE:

(i) Received (ii) Admitted (iii) Moved (iv) Adopted (v) Negatived (vi) Withdrawn (vii) Part-discussed	Nil

16. Number of Parliamentary Committees created, if any, during the session	Nil
17. Total number of Visitors' Passes issued during the session	3795
18. Maximum number of Visitors' Passes issued on any single day, and date on which issued	214 (25-11-71)

19. NUMBER OF MOTION FOR PAPERS UNDER RULE 167:

(i) Brought before the House (ii) Admitted and discussed	Nil

20. TOTAL NUMBER OF QUESTIONS ADMITTED:

(i) Starred	449
(ii) Unstarred (including Starred Questions converted as Unstarred Questions)	1010
(iii) Short-notice Questions	1

21. NUMBER OF REPORTS OF VARIOUS PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES PRESENTED TO/ LAID ON THE TABLE OF THE RAJYA SABHA :

(i) Public Accounts Committee	14
(ii) Committee on Public Undertakings	1
(iii) Business Advisory Committee	Nil
(iv) Committee on Subordinate Legislation	1
(v) Committee on Petitions	1
(vi) Committee of Privileges	Nil
[(vii) Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.	6
(viii) Joint Committee on Offices of Profit	1
(ix) Rules Committee	Nil
(::) Committee on Subordinate Legislation	1

(Eleventh Report).

APPENDIX III

Statement showing the activities of the state Legislatures during the period October 1, 1971 to December 31, 1971

Sessions held	Bills Passed		No. of Questions				Short Notice		Committee at work		
			Starred		Unstarred		Short Notice		Name of the Committee	Sittings held	No. of reports presented.
	Govt.	Private Members	Recd.	Admtd.	Recd.	Admtd.	Recd.	Admtd.			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
					Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly						
									Public Accounts Committee .	5	1
									Estimates Committee . .	12	..
									Committee on Public Undertakings	17	—
One (From 23-11-71 to 3-12-71) —10 sittings	8	—	407	264	—	98*		36**			
									Committee on Government Assurances	8	—
									Committee on Petitions . .	4	—
									Committee on Privileges. .	1	5
									Committee on Subordinate Legislation	11	1

Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council

One (From 27-11-71 to 4-12-71 7 sittings . .	8	—	315	217	—	—	11	6	Committee on Government Assurances	2	—
									Committee on Petitions . .	1	1
									Committee on Privileges .	2	—
									Committee on the Working of the Social Welfare Hostels in the State	14	—

Goa, Daman and Diu Legislative Assembly

—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Public Accounts Committee	1	—
									Estimates Committee . . .	6	—
									Committee on Subordinate Legislation	2	—
									Rules Committee . .	2	—

Haryana Legislative Assembly

									Public Accounts Committee .	3	—
									Implementation Sub-Committee of P.A.C. . . .	1	—
†One (From 25-10-71 to 27-10-71 and on 22-11-71) 4 sittings	15	—	1	—	1	1	3	3	Estimates Committee . .	4	—
									Business Advisory Committee	4	2

*Starred Questions admitted as Unstarred questions.
**Starred Notice questions admitted as ordinary Starred and Unstarred questions.
†The session actually commenced on 2-8-71 and adjourned *sine die* on 5-8-71 and again met on 25-10-71.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
									Committee on Government Assurances	12	—
									Committee on Privileges	2	—
									Committee on Subordinate Legislation	8	—
					Himachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly						
									Public Accounts Committee	16	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Estimates Committee	16	—
									Committee on Government Assurances	9	—
									Committee on Petitions	4	—
									Committee on Subordinate Legislation	12	—
									Library Committee	4	—
					Kerala Legislative Assembly						
One (From 24-11-71 to 8-12-71) 9 sittings	5	—	1860*	481	—	610	4	—	Public Accounts Committee	12	1
									Estimates Committee	5	—
									Committee on Public Undertakings	8	—
									Business Advisory Committee	2	2
									Committee on Privileges	3	2

										Committee on Subordinate Legislation	5	—
										Rules Committee	1	—
					Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly							
One** (From 4-10-71 to 5-10-71) 2 sittings	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Public Accounts Committee	6	3
										Estimates Committee	2	—
										Business Advisory Committee	1	—
										Committee on Government Assurances	2	—
										Committee on Petitions	1	—
										Committee on Subordinate Legislation	2	—
										House Committee	1	—
					Orissa Legislative Assembly							
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Public Accounts Committee	6	—
										Estimates Committee	10	—
										Committee on Public Undertakings	11	—
										Committee on Government Assurances	4	—

*Total number of notices received.
**The House had adjourned on 25-9-71 and reassembled on 4-10-71.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
									Committee on Petitions	2	—
									Committee on Subordinate Legislation	10	—
					Pondicherry Legislative Assembly						
									Public Accounts Committee	10	..
One (From 15-10-71 to 16-10-71) 2 Sittings	1		43	38	40	37	1	1	Estimates Committee	24	..
									Committee on Government Assurances	2	..
					Rajasthan Legislative Assembly				Committee on Privileges	8	..
One (From 10-11-71 to 16-11-71) 6 Sittings	2	..	808	374	144	129	2	1	Public Accounts Committee	29	1
									Estimates Committee	21	..
									Committee on Public Undertakings	25	5
									Committee on Government Assurances	23	..
									Committee on Petitions	—	1
									Committee on Privileges	14	2
									Committee on Subordinate Legislation	29	2
									House Committee	8	..
									Sub-Committee on Parliamentary Conventions	4	..

Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly

One* (From 21-10-71 to 25-10-71 & From 4-12-71 to 18-12-71) 17 sittings	16	..	1538	676	..	85	23	4	Estimates Committee	28	..
									Committee on Government Assurances	3	..
									House Committee	1	..
									Rules Committee	1	1

Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly

One 1 sitting**	..	..	1493†	1362	..	140	680‡	45	Public Accounts Committee	20	..
									Estimates Committee	11	..
									Business Advisory Committee	1	1
									Committee on Government Assurances	18	..
									Committee on Petitions	2	..
									Committee on Privileges	2	..
									Committee on Subordinate Legislation	32	..
									Rules Committee	3	..
									Joint/Select Committee on the U. P. Urban Building (Regulation of Letting, Rent and Eviction) Bill, 1970	5	1

*The session was held in two meetings.

**The session started on December 31, 1971.

†779 were admitted as Starred Questions and 88 as Unstarred Questions.

‡Of these, 583 were admitted as Starred Questions and 52 as Unstarred Questions.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
					Uttar Pradesh Legislative Council						
One	. . .	..	1434	1147	72	72	29	6	Committee on Public Undertakings	19	..
									Business Advisory Committee .	1	..
									Committee on Government Assurances	7	..
									Committee on Petitions . .	7	..
									Committee on Privileges .	3	..
									House Committee . .	6	..
									Rules Revision Committee .	2	..
									Committee for Compilation of Rulings	7	..
									Committee to deal with the Question of the use of unfair means by candidate appearing in High School and Intermediate Examination conducted by Uttar Pradesh Secondary Education Council	6	..
									Enquiry Committee on the delay in the announcement of results of Examination . .	6	..
									Enquiry Committee on the Financial & Administrative delays	9	..

APPENDIX IV

List of Bills passed by the Houses of Parliament and assented to by the President during the period October 1, 1971 to December 31, 1971

Serial No.	Title of Bill	Date of Assent by the President
1	2	3
1	The Constitution (Twenty-fourth Amendment) Bill, 1971	5-11-1971
2	The Prevention of Food Adulteration (Amendment) Bill, 1971	30-11-1971
3	The Defence of India Bill, 1971	4-12-1971
4	The International Airports Authority Bill, 1971	8-12-1971
5	The Stamp and Excise Duties (Amendment) Bill, 1971	8-12-1971
6	The Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Bill, 1971	8-12-1971
7	The Railway Passenger Fares Bill, 1971	9-12-1971
8	The Tax on Postal Articles Bill, 1971	9-12-1971
9	The Inland Air Travel Tax Bill, 1971	9-12-1971
10	The Air Corporations (Amendment) Bill, 1971	9-12-1971
11	The Emergency Risks (Goods) Insurance Bill, 1971	10-12-1971
12	The Emergency Risks (Undertakings) Insurance Bill, 1971	10-12-1971
13	The Small Coins (Offences) Bill, 1971	11-12-1971
14	The Forward Contracts (Regulation) Amendment Bill, 1971	11-12-1971
15	The Coal Bearing Areas (Acquisition and Development) Amendment and Validation Bill, 1971	11-12-1971
16	The Arms (Amendment) Bill, 1971	13-12-1971
17	The Comptroller and Auditor-General's (Duties, Powers and Conditions of Service) Bill, 1971	15-12-1971
18	The Visva-Bharati (Amendment) Bill, 1971	15-12-1971
19	The Appropriation (Railways) No. 3 Bill, 1971	15-12-1971
20	The Naval and Aircraft Prize Bill, 1971	16-12-1971
21	The Appropriation (No. 4) Bill, 1971	18-12-1971
22	The Punjab Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1971	18-12-1971
23	The Companies (Surcharge on Income-tax) Bill, 1971	23-12-1971

1	2	3
24	The Jayanti Shipping Company (Acquisition of Shares) Bill, 1971	23-12-1971
25	The Coking Coal Mines (Emergency Provisions) Bill, 1971	23-12-1971
26	The Asian Refractories Limited (Acquisition of Undertaking) Bill, 1971	23-12-1971
27	The Essential Commodities (Amendment) Bill, 1971	23-12-1971
28	The Indian Tariff (Amendment) Bill, 1971.	23-12-1971
29	The Uttar Pradesh Cantonments (Control of Rent and Eviction) (Repeal) Bill, 1971	23-12-1971
30	The Prevention of Insults to National Honour Bill, 1971	23-12-1971
31	The Contempt of Courts Bill, 1971	24-12-1971
32	The Delhi Road Transport Laws (Amendment) Bill, 1971	24-12-1971
33	The Industries (Development and Regulation) Amendment Bill, 1971	24-12-1971
34	The Union Territories Taxation Laws (Amendment) Bill, 1971	24-12-1971
35	The Personal Injuries (Emergency Provisions) Amendment Bill, 1971	25-12-1971
36	The Personal Injuries (Compensation Insurance) Amendment Bill, 1971	25-12-1971
37	The Manipur (Hill Areas) District Councils Bill, 1971	26-12-1971
38	The Constitution (Twenty-Sixth Amendment) Bill, 1971	28-12-1971
39	The Supreme Court Judges (Conditions of Service) Amendment Bill, 1971	30-12-1971
40	The High Court Judges (Conditions of Service) Amendment Bill, 1971	30-12-1971
41	The Commissions of Inquiry (Amendment) Bill, 1971	30-12-1971
42	The Companies (Amendment) Bill, 1971	30-12-1971
43	The North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Bill, 1971	30-12-1971
44	The Delhi Sikh Gurdwaras Bill, 1971	30-12-1971
45	The Government of Union Territories (Amendment) Bill, 1971	30-12-1971
46	The North-Eastern Council Bill, 1971	30-12-1971
47	The Constitution (Twenty-Seventh Amendment) Bill, 1971	30-12-1971

APPENDIX V

List of Bills passed by the State Legislatures during the period 1st October to 31st December, 1971

Andhra Pradesh

The A.P. Electricity Supply Undertakings (Acquisition) Extension and Amendment Bill, 1968.*

The Motor Vehicles (The Andhra Pradesh) (Amendment) Bill, 1971.*

The Andhra Pradesh Record of Rights in Land Bill, 1971.

The Andhra Pradesh Entertainments Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1971.

The Andhra Pradesh (Krishna and Godavari Delta Area) Drainage cess (Amendment) Bill, 1971.**

The Andhra Pradesh Motor Vehicles Taxation (Third Amendment) Bill, 1971.**

The Andhra Pradesh Appropriation (No. 4) Bill, 1971.**

Haryana

The Punjab Cooperative Societies (Haryana Third Amendment) Bill, 1971.

The Punjab Village Common Lands (Regulation) Haryana Second Amendment Bill, 1971.

The Haryana Co-operative Sugar Mills (Constitution and Tenure of Committees) Bill, 1971.

The Punjab Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads (Haryana Second Amendment) Bill, 1971.

The Punjab Agricultural Produce Markets (Haryana Third Amendment) Bill, 1971.

The Haryana Restrictions on (Development and Regulation of colonies) Bill, 1971.

The Punjab Public Service Commission (Additional Functions) Haryana Amendment Bill, 1971.

The Punjab Municipal (Haryana Amendment and Validation) Bill, 1971.

The Punjab New Capital (Periphery) Control Haryana Amendment Bill, 1971.

*Bills awaiting assent.

**Bills passed by the council only.

The Faridabad Complex (Regulation and Development) Bill, 1971.

The Punjab Entertainments Duty (Haryana Second Amendment) Bill, 1971.

The Punjab General Sales Tax (Haryana Second Amendment) Bill, 1971.

The Indian Stamp (Haryana Amendment) Bill, 1971.

The Punjab Courts (Haryana Amendment) Bill, 1971.

The Punjab Wild Life Preservation (Haryana Amendment) Bill, 1971.

Kerala

The Kerala Cooperative Societies (Amendment) Bill, 1971.

The Calicut University (Amendment) Bill, 1971.

The Kerala University (Second Amendment) Bill, 1971.

The Kerala Cultivators' and Tenants' (Temporary Protection) Amendment Bill, 1971.

The Kerala Appropriation (No. 5) Bill, 1971.

Madhya Pradesh

Madhya Pradesh Appropriation (No. 4) Bill, 1971.

Madhya Pradesh Civil Defence (Amendment) Bill, 1971.

Madhya Pradesh Panchayat (Amendment) Bill, 1971.

Madhya Pradesh Agricultural Produce Marketing (Amendment and validation) Bill, 1971.

Madhya Pradesh Gramdan Bill, 1969.

Rajasthan

The Rajasthan Municipalities (Amendment) Bill, 1970.

The Rajasthan Shops and Commercial Establishments (Amendment) Bill, 1971.

Tamil Nadu

The Tamil Nadu Fleet Operators Stage Carriages (Acquisition) Bill, 1971.

The Tamil Nadu Prohibition (Suspension of Operation) Bill, 1971.

The Tamil Nadu Excise Bill, 1971.

Tamil Nadu General Sales Tax (Fourth Amendment) Bill, 1971.

The Tamil Nadu Practitioners of Homoeopathy Bill, 1971 as amended by the Joint Select Committee.

The Tamil Nadu Payment of Salaries (Amendment) Bill, 1971.

The Tamil Nadu Co-operative Societies (Second Amendment) Bill, 1971.

The Tamil Nadu Legislature (Prevention of Disqualification) Amendment Bill, 1971.

The Indian Stamp (Tamil Nadu Amendment) Bill, 1971.

The Tamil Nadu Betting and Entertainments (Amendment) Bill, 1971.

The Madurai City Municipal Corporation (Amendment and Extension of Term of office) Bill, 1971.

The Tamil Nadu Entertainments Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1971.

The Tamil Nadu Co-operative Societies (Amendment) Bill, 1971.

The Tamil Nadu Agricultural Produce Markets (Amendment) Bill, 1971.

The Tamil Nadu Appropriation (No. 3) Bill, 1971.

The Tamil Nadu Appropriation (No. 4) Bill, 1971.

Uttar Pradesh

U.P. Town Improvement (Amendment) Bill, 1970.

APPENDIX VI

Ordinances issued by the Central and State Governments during the period October 1, 1971 to December 31, 1971

Serial No.	Subject	Date of Promulgation	Date on which laid before the House	Date of Cessation	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
	Central				
1.	The Forward Contracts (Regulation) Amendment Ordinance, 1971.	11-10-71	15-11-71		Replaced by legislation
2.	The Coking Coal Mines (Emergency Provisions) Ordinance, 1971.	16-10-71	15-11-71		Do.
3.	The Asian Refractories Limited (Acquisition of Undertaking) Ordinance, 1971.	17-10-71	15-11-71		Do.
4.	The Jayanti Shipping Company (Acquisition of Shares) Ordinance, 1971.	17-10-71	15-11-71		Do.
5.	The Small Coins (Offences) Ordinance, 1971.	22-10-71	15-11-71		Do.
6.	The Stamp and Excise Duties (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	22-10-71	15-11-71		Do.
7.	The Railway Passenger Fares Ordinance, 1971.	22-10-71	15-11-71		Do.
8.	The Tax on Postal Articles Ordinance, 1971.	22-10-71	15-11-71		Do.
9.	The Inland Air Travel Tax Ordinance, 1971.	30-10-71	15-11-71		Do.
10.	The Industries (Development and Regulation) Amendment Ordinance, 1971.	1-11-71	15-11-71	..	Do.
11.	The Delhi Road Transport Laws (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	3-11-71	15-11-71	..	Do.
12.	The Visva-Bharati (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	3-11-71	15-11-71	..	Do.

1	2	3	4	5	6
13.	The Motor Vehicles (Requisitioning and Control) Ordinance, 1971.	[9-11-71	[15-11-71	[26-12-71	Lapsed under article 123 (2)(a) of the Constitution
		States			
		Himachal Pradesh			
1.	The Indian Stamp (Himachal Pradesh Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	..	..	..	..
2.	The H. P. Passengers and Goods Taxation (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	[9-11-71	..	..	..
3.	The H. P. General Sales Tax (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	[9-11-71			..
4.	The H. P. Entertainment Duty (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	[9-11-71		..	
5.	The Punjab Motor Vehicles Taxation (Himachal Pradesh Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	[9-11-71			..
		Madhya Pradesh			
1.	Madhya Pradesh Entertainment tax and Advertisement Duty (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	10-11-71			
2.	Madhya Pradesh Tax on Sale Price and Purchase Price Ordinance, 1971.	10-11-71			..
3.	Indian Stamps (Madhya Pradesh Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	10-11-71			..
4.	Madhya Pradesh Motor Vehicle Taxation (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	10-11-71		..	..
5.	Madhya Pradesh Motor Vehicle (Passenger Tax) amendment Ordinance, 1971.	10-11-71		..	..

1	2	3	4	5	6
6.	Bhopal University (Amendment and Validation) Ordinance, 1971.	8-12-71	..	..	..
7.	Madhya Pradesh Panchayat (Third Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	8-12-71			
8.	Madhya Pradesh Government Servants (Age of Superannuation) Amendment Ordinance, 1971.	24-12-71			
	..	*Orissa*			
1.	The Utkal University (Vice-Chancellors' continuance in Office) Ordinance, 1971.	19-10-71	4-1-72	..	..
2.	The Orissa Contingency Fund (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	5-11-71	4-1-72	..	..
3.	The Orissa Contingency Fund (Third Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	10-12-71	4-1-72		..
4.	The Orissa Prevention of Land Encroachment Ordinance, 1971.	18-12-71	4-1-72		Replaced by the Orissa Prevention of Land Encroachment Bill, 1972 passed during the Third Session.
5.	The Orissa Entertainments Tax —(Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	29-12-71	6-1-72	..	Replaced by the Orissa Entertainments Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1972 passed during Third Session.
	..				
6.	The Orissa Sales Tax Amendment Ordinance, 1971.	29-12-71	6-1-72		Replaced by the Orissa Sales Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1972 passed during the Third Session.
	..				
7.	The Orissa Motor Vehicles Taxation Laws (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	29-12-71	4-1-72	..	Replaced by the Orissa Motor Vehicles Taxation Laws (Amendment) Bill, 1972 passed during Third Session.
	..				

1	2	3	4	5	6
		Rajasthan			
1.	The Rajasthan Taxation Laws (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	8-12-71	..		
2.	The Rajasthan Passengers and Goods Taxation (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	20-12-71			
		Tamil Nadu			
1.	The Tamil Nadu Prohibition (Suspension of Operation) Ordinance, 1971.	28-8-71	6-9-71	10-11-71	The Tamil Nadu Prohibition (Suspension of Operation) Act, 1971.
2.	The Tamil Nadu Abkari Ordinance, 1971.	28-8-71	6-9-71	10-11-71	The Tamil Nadu Excise Act 1971.
		Uttar Pradesh			
1.	Uttar Pradesh Krishi Utpadan Mandi Samitis (Alpakalik Vyawastha) Ordinance, 1971.	30-10-1971	31-12-1971	22-1-72	Uttar Pradesh Krishi Utpadan Mandi Samitis (Alpakalik Vyawastha) Vidheyak, 1971.
2.	The Uttar Pradesh Land Tenures (Regulation of Transfers (Re-enactment and Validation) Ordinance, 1971.	12-11-1971	31-12-1971	..	Uttar Pradesh Land Tenures (Regulation of Transfers) (Re-enactment and Validation) Bill, 1972.
3.	Uttar Pradesh Co-operative Societies (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	13-11-1971	31-12-1971	17-1-72	Uttar Pradesh Co-operative Societies (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
4.	Uttar Pradesh Krishi Viswavidyalaya (Sanshodhan) Ordinance, 1971.	13-11-1971	31-12-1971	22-1-72	Uttar Pradesh Krishi Vishwavidyalaya (Sanshodhan) Vidheyak, 1971.
5.	The Uttar Pradesh Taxation Laws (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	13-11-1971	31-12-1971	..	The Uttar Pradesh Taxation Laws (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
6.	Uttar Pradesh Sugarcane (Regulation of Supply and Purchase and Recovery of Purchase Tax) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	23-12-1971	31-12-1971	18-1-1972	Uttar Pradesh Sugarcane (Regulation of Supply and Purchase and Recovery of Purchase Tax) (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
7.	The Uttar Pradesh Excise (Amendment) Ordinance, 1971.	27-12-1971	31-12-1971	22-1-72	The Uttar Pradesh Excise (Amendment) Bill, 1972.
8.	The Uttar Pradesh Antarim Zila Parishads (Sanshodhan) Ordinance, 1971.	27-12-1971	31-12-1971	24-1-72	The Uttar Pradesh Antarim Zila Parishads (Sanshodhan) Vidheyak, 1971.

APPENDIX VII

A. PARTY POSITION IN LOK SABHA

(i) State-Wise

(As on March 1, 1972)

Name of the State	Seats	Cong.	CPI (M)	CPI	DMK	J. S.	Congress (O)	UIPG	Other Parties	Unatt-ached	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Andhra Pradesh	41	37	1	1	..	..	..	..	2(a)	..	41
Assam	14	13		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13 (1 Vacant)
Bihar	53	39		5	..	2	3	1	2(b)	1	53
Gujarat	24	11		..		..	8	..	2(c)	2	24
Haryana	9	7		..		1	..	..	..	1	9
Himachal Pradesh	4	4		..			..				4
Jammu and Kashmir	6	5	..	..			..		..		6
Kerala	19	6	2	3		..	..		7 (d)	1	19
Madhya Pradesh	37	21		..		10	..	5	1(e)	..	37
Maharashtra	45	41		..			..		2(f)	1	44 (1 Vacant)
Manipur	2	2		..			..			..	2
Meghalaya	2	..					..			1	1 (1 Vacant)
Mysore	27	27		..			..				27
Nagaland	1	..		..			..	1	..	..	1
Orissa	20	13		1			..	1	3(g)	..	18 (2 Vacant)
Punjab	13	8		2		..	..	..	..	1	11* (1 Vacant)
Rajasthan	23	14		..	..	5	..	2	2(h)		23
Tamil Nadu	39	9		4	23	..	1		2(i)	..	39
Uttar Pradesh	85	73	..	5		4	1		..	2	85
West Bengal	40	13	20	3			..		2(j)		39 (1 Vacant)
Union Territories											
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	1							..		1
Arunachal Pradesh	1	1							..		1(k)
Chandigarh	1	1							..		1
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	1	1					..				1
Delhi	7	7	..		..		..	..			7
Goa, Daman and Diu	2	1	..		..	..	..	1	..	..	2
Mizoram	1		..		..	..	..	..	..	..	(1 Vacant)
Pondicherry	1	1	..			..		..		..	1
Tripura	2	..	2			..		..		..	2
Anglo-Indian	2	..		..	..	..	..	2	..	..	2(k)
TOTAL	524	358	25	24	23	22	13	13	25	12	515* (excluding Speaker and 8 vacancies

*Excludes the Speaker, who is not a member of any Party.

(a) Telengana Praja Samiti 2
(b) Socialist Party 2
(c) Swatantra 2
(d) Muslim League 2
Revolutionary Socialist Party . . 2
Kerala Congress 3
(e) Socialist Party 1
(f) Socialist Party 1
Forward Block 1
(g) Swatantra 3
(h) Swatantra 2
(i) Muslim League 1
Forward Block 1
(j) Socialist Party 1
Revolutionary Socialist Party . . 1
(k) Nominated by the President . . ..

A. PARTY POSITION IN LOK SABHA

(ii) Party-Wise

Name of Party	*Strength*
Congress Party	358
C.P.I. (M)	25
C.P.I.	24
D.M.K.	23
Jan Sangh	22
Congress (O)	13
Other Parties	
UPIG	13
Swantantra	7
Socialist Party	5
Muslim League	3
Revolutionary Socialist Party	3
Kerala Congress	3
Forward Block	2
Telengana Praja Samiti	2
Unattached	12
Vacancies	8
TOTAL	520 (excluding Speaker)

B. PARTY POSITION IN RAJYA SABHA

(i) State wise

(As on February 7, 1972).

States	No. of Seats	Cong	Cong (O)	JS	Swa	CPI	SP	CPI (M)	DMK	ML	BKD	AKALI DAL	RP	FB	FB (M)	BANGLA CONG	RSP	SMS	PSP	IND & Others	Vacancies
A. P.	18	15	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Assam	7	5	..	..		..	1			..	..	..	..			..	..	..		..	1
Bihar	22	12	1	1	..	2	3			..	..	..								1	1
Gujarat	11	4	3	1	1					..	..										2
Haryana	5	4	1							..	..										-
Himachal Pradesh	3	3	..							..	..										
J & K	4	4								..	..										
Kerala	9	..	..	..		3	1	2		2							1			..	
Madhya Pradesh	16	9	1	4		..	..			..			..					..	..	2	..
Maharashtra	19	12	..	..		1	1			..			1					1	..	2	1
Manipur	1	1								..											..
Meghalaya	1	..	..							..										..	1
Mysore	12	5	5							..										2	
Nagaland	1	1	..		..					..										..	..
Orissa	10	2	2		5					..											1
Punjab	7	3	..	1	..					..	..	3									
Rajasthan	10	5	1	2	1			..	..	..	1	..								..	
Tamil Nadu	18	2	3		3			1	6	2										1	
Tripura	1	1	..	..		..	..			..	..									..	
U. P.	34	14	8	4	..	1	3	..		..	3			..	..	..				1	..
W. Bengal	16	3	..			2		5		..	..			1	1	1				3	..
Arunachal Pradesh	1			..						..										..	1
Delhi	3	..		2						..										1	..
Mizoram	1	..								..											1
Pondicherry	1	..				..			1	..	..							..		..	
Nominated	12	2		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	..
	243	107	25	15	11	10	9	8	7	4	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	24	9

B. PARTY POSITION IN RAJYA SABHA

(ii) Party-Wise

Name of Party	*Strength*
Congress	107
Congress (O)	25
Jan Sangh	15
Swatantra	11
C.P.I.	10
S.P.	9
C.P.I.(M)	8
D.M.K.	7
Other Parties	
Muslim League	4
B.K.D.	4
Akali Dal	3
R.P.	1
Forward Block	1
F.B. (M)	1
Bangla Congress	1
R.S.P.	1
S.M.S.	1
P.S.P.	1
Independent and others	24
Vacancies	9
TOTAL	243

C. PARTY POSITION IN STATE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES

States	Seats	Cong.	Cong. (O)	Swat.	JS	CPI	CPI (M)	SSP	PSP	Rep.	Other Parties	Ind.	Nom.	Muslim League	For-ward Block	DMK	Total
Andhra Pradesh (as on 29-1-72)	288	230		10	3		5	1		2	14(a)	8	1			..	274(b)
Assam (as on 28-10-71)	126	75		1		7		3	4		2(c)	21				..	113(d)
Haryana (as on 20-1-72)	81	55	5		4					..	11(e)	3					78(f)
Himachal Pradesh (as on 17-1-72)	60	40			7	2				..	9(g)	2					60
Jammu & Kashmir (as on 31-12-70) .	75	61			4						3(h)	3					71(i)
Kerala (as on 14-2-72)	134	33	3			16	31	8	4	..	26(j)	1	11	..			133(k)
Madhya Pradesh (as on 3-2-72)	297	191			63	1		10		..	17(l)	4	1			..	287(m)
Maharashtra (as on 26-12-70) .	271	191	13		6(n)	8	2	6	7	2	23(o)	10	1	1	1		271
Meghalaya (as on 17-11-70) .	41	4								..	34(p)		3				41
Nagaland (as on 27-10-71) .	52									..	52(r)						52
Orissa (as on 27-10-71) .	140	49	1	35		4	2		4	..	40(s)	5	..				140
Rajasthan (as on 9-2-72)	184	107	1	26	17	1		6			1(t)	6(v)	..			..	175(w)
Tamil Nadu (as on 1-2-72)	235	1	14	6	..	8	..		4		1(x)	3	1	6	7	183	235(y)
Uttar Pradesh (as on 2-2-72) .	426	229	58	2	41	4	1	18	2	..	59(z)	5					417(aa)
Goa, Daman and Diu (as on 31-12-71) .	32	3								..	26(bb)	2				..	31(cc)
Pondicherry (as on 31-5-71)	30	6	3			3						2			..	16	30
Tripura (as on 28-10-71) . .	33	19	..	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	7(dd)	2	3	..	..	..	33

(a) Peoples Democratic Group—2, Communist Legislature Front—12.
(b) 14 seats are vacant.
(c) Revolutionary Communist Party—1, Unattached—1.
(d) Vacant—13.
(e) Includes Vishal Haryana Party—9, Akali—1, and Independent Opposition—1.
(f) 3 seats are vacant.
(g) Lok Raj Party (Jan Sangh & Lok Raj Party makes "Samukta Vidhyak Dal").
(h) National Conference.
(i) Vacant—4
(j) Includes Kerala Congress—13; Revolutionary Socialist Party—6; Kerala Socialist Party—2; Karshaka Thozhilali Party—2; Congress Socialist Party—2.
(k) Vacant—1.
(l) Includes Lok Sevak Dal—13; Pragatisheel Vidhayak Dal—4.
(m) Vacant—10.
(n) Includes 1 Independent.
(o) Peasants and Workers—21; Hindu Sabha—1; Shiv Sena—1.
(p) All Party Hill Leaders Conference.
(r) Includes Nagaland Nationalist Organisation—45; United Front of Nagaland—7.
(s) Includes Utkal Congress—34; Jharkhand—4; Jana Congress—1; and Speaker—1.
(t) B.K.D.
(v) Includes Hon'ble Speaker.
(w) Vacant—9.
(x) Tamil Arasu Kazhagam.
(y) Including Hon. Speaker.
(z) Includes B.K.D.—56; Muslim Majlis—1; Unattached—2 (Hon'ble Speaker & Hon'ble Deputy Speaker).
(aa) Vacant—9.
(bb) Includes Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party (Bandodkar's Group)—10; Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party (Naik's Group)—4, United Goans Sequeira's Group 7; United Goans Progressive Group—5.
(cc) Vacant—1; Includes Hon. Speaker.
(dd) Congress Legislature Party (Socialist).